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ILLUSTRATIONS
OF
THE LITURGY AND RITUAL

OF
The United Church of England and
Ireland:

BEING
SERMONS AND DISCOURSES,
SELECTED FROM
THE WORKS OF EMINENT DIVINES
WHO LIVED DURING THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY JAMES BROGDEN, M.A.
OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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LORD BISHOP OF LONDON,

THIS SELECTION IS INSCRIBED

BY THE EDITOR,

WITH SINCERE RESPECT AND GRATITUDE.

P R E F A C E.

THE materials of which the following volumes consist are derived from the works of eminent English theological writers who lived after the commencement, and before the close, of the seventeenth Century.

The passages selected are presented to the reader without any curtailment or addition, either in the text or in the notes.

The Book of COMMON PRAYER being one of the greatest national blessings which God has vouchsafed to this Country, it seems reasonable to hope that an elucidation of its contents from the writings of the greatest Divines whom England has produced, may serve to increase our gratitude to Divine Providence for this benefit and privilege, and will render that gratitude more rational and intelligent; and, at the same time, by exhibiting a specimen of the rich resources of

English Theology of one Century, and in connection with one Subject, will increase our reverence and love towards the Church of our Country, and will thus promote its best interests, and those of sound Piety and Learning.

The Editor has prefixed a short biographical Sketch of the writers from whom the selections are made, and has added to the volumes a copious analytical Index, which, he trusts, will be found of service.

LIST OF THE AUTHORS SELECTED.

BARROW, ISAAC, D.D., *Master of Trinity College, Cambridge*. Born in London, October, 1630. Educated at the Charter House; went to Trinity College, in the University of Cambridge, February, 1645; chosen Fellow of that College, 1649; Professor of Greek in the said University, 1660. Preferred to a Prebend in the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, which he resigned on being appointed Master of Trinity College, 1673. Died May, 1677; buried in the Abbey Church of St. Peter's, Westminster. [See *Life, prefixed to the editions of his Works.*]

BENTLEY, RICHARD, D.D., *Regius Professor of Divinity and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge*. Born January 27th, 1661-2, at Oulton, in the parish of Wakefield, Yorkshire. Brought up at the Grammar School of Wakefield; admitted of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1676; incorporated M.A. of Wadham College, Oxford, 1689; installed a Prebendary of Worcester, 1692; appointed Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1700; collated to the Archdeaconry of Ely, 1701; chosen Regius Professor of Divinity, 1716. Died July, 1742, and buried in the Chapel of Trinity College. [See *Life, by Bishop Monk*].

BEVERIDGE, WILLIAM, D.D., *Bishop of St. Asaph*. Born at Barrow, in the County of Leicester, 1636. Educated at the Free School of Oakham, in the County of Rutland; admitted of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1653; B.A., 1656; M.A., 1660, ordained Deacon by Bishop Sanderson, January, 1660-1, and Priest in the same month preferred about the same time to the Vicarage of Ealing, Middlesex; presented to the Rectory of St. Peter's, Cornhill, 1672; collated to the Prebend of Chiswick, in the Cathedral of St. Paul's, 1674; D.D., 1679; installed Prebendary of Canterbury, 1684; declined the Bishoprick of Bath and Wells, 1691; consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph, 1704. Died at Westminster, March 5th, 1708; buried in St. Paul's Cathedral. [See *Memoir of his Life, by Horne.*]

BRAMHALL, JOHN, D.D., *Archbishop of Armagh*. Born at Pontefract, in Yorkshire, about the year 1593. Admitted of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, 1608; B.A., 1612; M.A., 1616; D.D., 1630; installed Prebendary of York, 1633; preferred to the Archdeaconry of Meath, same year; consecrated Bishop of Londonderry, 1634; obliged

on account of the troubles, 1641-2, to leave Ireland, and privately embark for England: after the battle of Marston Moor, July 2. 1644, quitted England, and landed at Hamburg, July 8th, 1644; lived at Brussels till 1648; returned to Ireland, 1648; escaped thence, and reached Rotterdam, same year; returned to England at the Restoration, 1660; translated to the Archbishoprick of Armagh, 1660-1. Died June 25th, 1663; buried in Christ's Church, Dublin. [See *Life*, prefixed to the folio edition of his Works.]

BULL, GEORGE, D.D., *Bishop of St. David's*. Born at Wells, March 25th, 1634. From Grammar Schools at Wells and at Tiverton, removed to Exeter College, Oxford, 1648; ordained 1655. Married to Bridget Gregory, 1658; made Prebendary of Gloucester, 1678; published his principal works between the years 1668 and 1703. Consecrated Bishop of St. David's, 1705. Died the 17th of February, 1710, and buried at Brecknock. [See *Life*, by Nelson.]

CHARLES THE FIRST, *King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland*, (surnamed the Martyr). Third son of James the Sixth, King of Scotland, and Anne of Denmark. Born at Dumfermeling in Fifeshire, Scotland, Nov. 19th, 1600. Created Duke of Albany, Marquess of Ormond, Earl of Rosse, and Baron of Ardmanock, 1602. Duke of York, Jan. 6th, 1604; Prince of Wales, November 3d, 1616. Proclaimed King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, March 28th, 1625. Married Henrietta Maria of France, same year. Crowned, Feb. 2d, 1626. Murdered by his rebellious subjects at Whitehall, Jan. 30th, 1649. Buried at Windsor in the Chapel of St. George.

Εἰκὼν Βασιλική. [For arguments to prove that this work was written by King Charles, the reader is referred to the able treatise upon the subject, written by Dr. Wordsworth, and entitled "Who wrote Εἰκὼν Βασιλική? 8vo. London, 1824-5."]

CHILLINGWORTH, WILLIAM, M.A., *Prebendary of Salisbury*. Born at Oxford, 1602; admitted a Scholar of Trinity College, Oxford, 1618; elected Fellow, 1628; persuaded by Fisher, the Jesuit, he forsook the communion of the Church of England for that of Rome, but returned to the Church of England through the arguments of Archbishop Laud, 1631; installed Prebendary of Salisbury, 1638. Died 1643; buried in Chichester Cathedral. [See *Life*, prefixed to his Works; Wood's *Athenæ*; Locke's *Thoughts concerning Reading and Study*; and Desmaizeaux's *Account of his Life and Writings*.]

COMBER, THOMAS, D.D., *Dean of Durham*. Born at Westerham, in Kent, 1645. Admitted of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, 1659; B.A., 1666; installed a Prebendary of York, 1677; promoted to the Deanery of Durham, 1691. Died 25th November, 1699; buried at Stonegrave, Yorkshire. [See *Life*, by his great grandson, Thomas Comber, B.A.]

CUDWORTH, RALPH, D.D., *Master of Christ's College, Cambridge*. Born at Aller, in Somersetshire, 1617. Matriculated in the University of

- Cambridge, at Emmanuel College, 1632; M. A., 1639; chosen Fellow soon afterwards; Master of Clare Hall, 1644; Regius Professor of Hebrew, 1645. Preached before the House of Commons at Westminster, March 31st, 1647. [For this sermon see Vol. II. p. 161—217.] Chosen Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, 1654, and married the same year; installed Prebendary of Gloucester, 1678. Died at Cambridge, June 26th, 1688, and buried in the Chapel of Christ's College. [See *Life*, by Thomas Birch.]
- DONNE, JOHN, D. D., *Dean of St. Paul's*. Born in London, 1573. Educated by a private tutor at home, and at Hart Hall, Oxford; removed to Trinity College, Cambridge, at the age of 14; three years afterwards admitted of Lincoln's Inn. Married, 1602. Ordained, 1617. Promoted to Deanery of St. Paul's, 1621. Died March 31st, 1631; buried in St. Paul's, London. [See *Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography*; *Life*, by Alford, prefixed to his edition of *Donne's Works*; *Walton's Lives*; and *Fuller's Worthies*.]
- FARINDON, ANTHONY, B. D. Born at Sunning, Berks, 1596. Admitted scholar of Trinity College, Oxford, 1612; elected Fellow, 1617; M. A., 1620; ordained about this time; presented to the Vicarage of Bray, 1634; dispossessed of his preferment on the breaking out of the rebellion, and with a wife and seven children, nearly reduced to starvation, invited to be Pastor of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, London. Died at his house in Milk Street, September, 1658, and buried in the parish church there. [See *Wood's Athenæ*; *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*; *Lloyd's Memoirs*, and *Preface* prefixed to his *Sermons*.]
- FIELD, RICHARD, D. D., *Dean of Gloucester*. Born at Hempstead, in Hertfordshire, October 15th, 1561. Received his education in the Free School of Berkhamstead; admitted of Magdalene College, Oxford, 1577; chosen Divinity Reader of Lincoln's Inn, 1594. Married same year to Elizabeth Harris; and preferred about the same time to the Rectory of Burghcleare, Hampshire. Made Prebendary of Windsor, 1598; Promoted to the Deanery of Gloucester, 1610. Lost his wife, 1614; married, two years afterwards, the widow of Dr. John Spencer. Died November 15th, 1616; buried in the outer Chapel of St. George, at Windsor, below the choir. [See *Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary*, and *Wood's Athenæ*.]
- HACKET, JOHN, D. D., *Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry*. Born in the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, in the Strand, September 1st, 1592. Educated at Westminster School; elected, with George Herbert, to Trinity College, Cambridge, 1608; ordained, 1618; made Prebendary of Lincoln, 1623; preferred to the Rectory of St. Andrew's, Holborn, 1624; and to the Parsonage of Cheam, in Surrey, soon afterwards. Married about this time. Appointed to speak before the Long Parliament in behalf of Cathedral Establishments, 1641; obtained a Canonry of St. Paul's, 1642; expelled from his prefer-

ment during the Usurpation; consecrated Bishop of Lichfield, 1661. Died, at Lichfield, October 28th, 1670; buried in Litchfield Cathedral. [See *Life, by Plume.*]

HALL, JOSEPH, D.D. Born at Bristow Park, Leicestershire, July 1st, 1574. Admitted of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1590; preferred to the Deanery of Worcester, 1616; sent to the Synod of Dort, 1618, 1619; consecrated Bishop of Exeter, 1627; translated to Norwich, 1641. Died at Higham, near Norwich, September 8th, 1656, and buried there. [See *Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography*; and *Fuller's Worthies*, who gives this character of Bishop Hall: "He was commonly called our English Seneca, for the pureness, plainness, and fulness of his style; not unhappy at *controversies*, more happy at *comments*, very good in his *characters*, better in his *sermons*, best of all in his *meditations*."]]

HOOKE, RICHARD, M.A., *Master of the Temple*. Born at Heavitree, near Exeter, about 1553. Admitted, through the patronage of Bishop Jewell, to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 1567; chosen Scholar, 1573; elected Fellow, 1577; ordained, 1581. Married, 1582, Joan Churchman. Presented to Rectory of Drayton Beauchamp in Buckinghamshire, 1584; appointed Master of the Temple, 1585; preferred to the Rectory of Boscombe in Wiltshire, 1591; and same year installed Prebendary of Salisbury; quitted Boscombe, and presented by Queen Elizabeth to the Rectory of Bishop's Bourne in Kent, 1595. Died Nov. 2d, 1600; buried in the Parish Church at Bishop's Bourne. [See *Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography*; *Walton's Lives*; *Wood's Athenæ*; *Fuller's Worthies*.]

JACKSON, THOMAS, D.D., *President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Dean of Peterborough*. Born at Wilton on the Weir, in the county of Durham, December 21st, 1579. Admitted scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 1596; B.A., 1599; M.A., 1603; chosen Fellow, 1606; D.D., 1622; soon after 1624, Vicar of Newcastle-upon-Tyne; elected President of Corpus Christi College, 1630; installed Prebendary of Winchester, 1635; Promoted to the Deanery of Peterborough, 1638. Died 21st September, 1640; buried in the Inner Chapel of Corpus Christi College. [See *Life, by Vaughan, prefixed to his Works, folio, 1673*; *Wood's Athenæ*; *Lloyd's Memoirs*.]

LITTLETON, ADAM, D.D., *Prebendary of Westminster and Rector of Chelsea, Middlesex*. Born at Hales Owen, in Shropshire, Nov. 8th, 1627, educated under Dr. Busby at Westminster School; elected student of Christ Church, Oxford, 1647; admitted Rector of Chelsea, 1674; installed Prebendary of Westminster the same year. Died June 30th, 1694; buried in the Parish Church of St. Luke, Chelsea. [See *General Dictionary*, vol. vii. p. 125—127.; *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*; *Newcourt's Repertorium*.]

LOYD, WILLIAM, D.D., *Bishop of Worcester*. Born at Tilehurst, in Berkshire, 1627. Entered of Oriel College, Oxford, 1638; elected,

scholar of Jesus College, 1639; B. A., 1642; M. A., and chosen Fellow, 1646; ordained Deacon, 1649; Priest, 1656; incorporated M. A. in Cambridge, and made Prebendary of Ripon, 1660; collated to a Prebend of Salisbury, 1667; promoted to the Deanery of Bangor, 1672; promoted to the Bishoprick of St. Asaph, 1680; committed to the Tower, with Archbishop Sancroft and five other Bishops, 1688; translated to the See of Lichfield and Coventry, 1692; and to that of Worcester, 1699. Died at Hartlebury Castle, 30th August, 1717; buried in the Church of Fladbury, near Evesham. [See *Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary*.]

PEARSON, JOHN, D.D., *Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Bishop of Chester*. Born at Snoring, in Norfolk, February, 12th, 1612; sent to Eton School, 1623; elected to King's College, Cambridge, 1632; B. A., 1635; M. A., 1639; ordained the same year, and collated to a Prebend in the Cathedral Church of Salisbury; soon after the Restoration, installed a Prebendary of Ely; and made Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, before the end of 1660; chosen Margaret Professor of Divinity, 1661; appointed Master of Trinity College, 1662; consecrated Bishop of Chester, 1673. Died at Chester, July 16th, 1686. Buried in Chester Cathedral. [See *Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary*.]

ROGERS, JOHN, D.D., *Canon Residentiary of Wells*. Born at Ensham, in Oxfordshire, 1679. Elected Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 1693; became Fellow, 1706. Married the Hon. Mrs. Lydia Hare, 1716; soon afterwards installed Canon Residentiary of Wells; instituted to the Vicarage of St. Giles's Without, Cripplegate, London, 1728. Died 1st of May, 1729; buried in the Parish Church of Ensham. [See *Life, by Burton, prefixed to a volume of his Sermons*. London, 1749.]

SANCROFT, WILLIAM, D.D., *Archbishop of Canterbury*. Born at Fresingfield, Suffolk, 1616. Received his early education at Bury School; sent to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1634; B. A., 1637; M. A., 1641; elected Fellow of that College, 1642; appointed Chaplain to Dr. Cosin; Bishop of Durham, 1660, and preached the sermon in Westminster Abbey, at his consecration, November 18. 1660 [for which see Vol. I. p. 319—361.] (The bishops then consecrated were, John Cosin, Lord Bishop of Durham; William Lucy, of St. David's; Benjamin Laney, of Peterborough; Hugh Lloyd, of Llandaff; Richard Stern, of Carlisle; Brian Walton, of Chester; John Gauden, of Exeter.) Installed at Durham, 1662; elected Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1662; Deanery of York, 1664; installed Dean of St. Paul's, 1664; consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, 1677; deprived, 1690. Died, at Fresingfield, 1693; buried there. [See *Life, by Dr. D' Olyly*.]

SHARP, JOHN, D.D., *Archbishop of York*. Born at Bradford, in Yorkshire, 1644. Admitted of Christ's College, Cambridge, 1660; M. A., 1667; ordained the same year; installed Prebendary of Norwich,

1675. Married Elizabeth Palmer, 1676. Promoted to Deanery of Norwich, 1681. Consecrated Archbishop of York, 1691. Died, at Bath, 1713; buried in the Cathedral of York. [*See Life, by Newcome; and Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary.*]

SHERLOCK, WILLIAM, D.D., *Dean of St. Paul's*. Born in Southwark, about the year 1641. Educated at Eton; removed to Peterhouse College, Cambridge; B.A., 1660; M.A., 1665; chosen Master of the Temple, about 1682. Installed Dean of St. Paul's, 1691. Died, at Hampstead, Middlesex, June 19th, 1707; buried in the Cathedral of St. Paul's. [*See Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary.*]

SOUTH, ROBERT, D.D., *Prebendary of Westminster, Canon of Christ Church, and Rector of Islip, in the county of Oxford*. Born at Hackney, 1633; a King's Scholar, at Westminster, 1647; admitted a Student of Christ Church, Oxford, 1651; B.A., 1654-5; M.A., 1657; ordained, 1658; made Public Orator of the University, 1660; installed Prebendary of Westminster, 1663; installed Canon of Christ Church 1670; inducted to the Rectory of Islip, 1678. Died July 8th, 1716. Buried in the Abbey Church of St. Peter's, Westminster. [*See Life, prefixed to a volume of his Sermons, published 1717; and the last edition of his Sermons, published at Oxford, 1823.*]

STILLINGFLEET, EDWARD, D.D., *Bishop of Worcester*. Born at Cranbourne, in Dorsetshire, April 17. 1635; educated at the Grammar School of that place; admitted of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1648; B.A., 1652; chosen Fellow, 1653; M.A., 1656; appointed Preacher of the Rolls Chapel, by Sir Harbottle Grimston, about 1664; collated to the Prebend of Islington in the Church of St. Paul's, 1667; installed a Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, 1670; promoted to the Deanery of St. Paul's, 1678; consecrated Bishop of Worcester, 1689. Died at Westminster, March 27th, 1699; buried in the Cathedral of Worcester. [*See Life, prefixed to his Works.*]

TAYLOR, JEREMY, D.D., *Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore*. Born in Cambridge, 1613. Educated at Caius College, Cambridge; B.A., 1630-1; M.A., 1633; admitted M.A. in University College, Oxford, 1635; appointed by Archbishop Laud, as visitor, a Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, 1636. Married, first, 1639, Phœbe Langsdale, who died about 1642; secondly, Joanna Bridges. Consecrated Bishop of Down and Connor, by Archbishop Bramhall, 1661, and appointed to preach the Consecration Sermon [for which see Vol. I. p. 362.]. Entrusted with the Diocese of Dromore in addition. Died 13th August, 1667; buried in the Church at Dromore. [*See Sermon preached at his funeral by Dr. Rust (Bishop of Dromore), and Heber's Life of Taylor, prefixed to his Works.*]

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THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

THE UNITY OF THE SPIRIT IN THE BOND OF PEACE.

[ADAM LITTLETON.]

EPH. iv. 3.

*Endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond
of peace.*

THAT our divisions, whether we look upon the sinfulness or the mischievousness of them, are none of the least of those evils for which the nation ought to put on sackcloth, and strew ashes upon her head, to humble herself, to take up a lamentation, and to deplore those dismal consequences which usually attend such distempers, is so obvious a truth, as no one can pretend not to see, who does not either want or shut his eyes.

It is but late, indeed, that rebellion and schism, those twin-sisters that always covenant and engage for one another's mutual defence, have been brought into our Litany: our late experience, who have seen a flourishing church and state in ruins, having taught us sufficiently how necessary it is for us, even in our most solemn humiliations, if we have any duty for government, any kindness for ourselves and our posterities after us, to pray to a good God to deliver us from them.

I shall not now proceed with bemoaning language to

with greater kindness of God? than to make God and love to be all one; that love, by which the three Persons among themselves were co-eternally united into one; and that love, by which God from all eternity purposed with himself “to gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth, even in him,” as it is in chap. i. of this epistle, ver. 10.

And this is that our blessed Lord himself, who came out of the bosom of the Father^a, to make known the mystery of his will to us, means in that prayer of his, that as He and the Father are one^b, so we may be one also; to wit, by the unity of the same Spirit.

O mystical Unity! O blessed Spirit! what reason have we to endeavour what we can, ever inviolably to keep that unity of thine in the strictest bond of peace? that unity, which the Persons of the glorious Trinity, in a co-equality of honour and privilege, no one of the Three being before or after other, have always constantly maintained? that unity, by which heaven and earth, the upper and lower world, were designed to be reconciled, and all things to be gathered together in one? that unity, lastly, by which the Church militant is not only kept and governed in itself, but is actually even here united to the Church triumphant? that, as we read in the verse following, there may be one body, as there is one Spirit, even as we are “called in one hope of our calling.”

2. It is this one Spirit, then, which, by his virtue and energy, animates and influences that one body, which,

^a John, i. 18.

^b John, xvii. 11.

holding Christ the head, and growing up in him, by joints and bands, having nourishment ministered to all its parts, and according to exact proportion being compacted and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God, unto the edifying of itself in love: Col. ii. 19. and this 4th chapter of the Ephesians, the 16th verse.

Now as the body is one, though it hath many members, and all the members of that one body, though they are many, yet make up but one body, as the Apostle argues 1 Cor. xii. 12., so the Spirit too, in all the diversities of his gifts, and differences of administrations, and several kinds of operations, is still but one and the self-same Spirit, as he there at large discourses: and all that variety of dispensations tends constantly and regularly to unity, as we have it here set down in the 12th and 13th verses; “for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ; till we all come, in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.”

So, then, what the soul is in the natural body, a principle of life, which imparts heat and vigour, sense and motion, nourishment and growth, to all the parts of the body, as occasion requires, and applies itself with equal regards, and yet in different manners, to the several members, according to their various offices, and places, and uses they have in the body: the same is the Spirit in the mystical body, to infuse spiritual life and strength, to direct and assist, to guide and to govern all the

members, according to the measure and capacity of each part.

And as the soul, being one and the same in all its faculties and functions, orders and manages all to the good of the body; so does the Spirit in his several ministrations, with an uniform multiformity, contrive and design all for the edifying of the body of Christ, for the building up of the Church.

II. From this account the Apostle hath elsewhere given us of the Church, by the instance and comparison of a body, the parts whereof are variously regulated and acted by the same Spirit; I say from this, we are easily taught to apprehend what this unity of the Spirit we are here obliged to keep is, and wherein it doth consist; to wit, in church fellowship, whereby we (with the whole company of the truly faithful) are made the body of Christ^a, and members in particular.

And this unity is twofold.

1. Of the members with the Head.
2. Of the members one with another.

That unity of the Spirit, by which the Spirit unites us to Christ the head, is faith; and so it is called in this very chapter, “the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God.”

That unity, whereby we are united among ourselves through the same Spirit, is charity.

Hereupon the Apostle sometimes branches the whole business of religion into these two respects, faith and love; “faith in the Lord Jesus, and love towards all the saints^b”; those who are of the household of faith.

^a 1 Cor. xii. 27.

^b Eph. i. 15.; Gal. vi. 10.

Thus as philosophers, in their *unum, verum, bonum*, have made truth and goodness necessary attendants upon unity, so is it here to be, the verity of faith and the benignity of love, to make up and to make out the unity of the Spirit. These two will be the surest trials, whether we keep this unity of the Spirit, and whether we keep up to it or no.

Love without faith may produce an unity, but not that of the Spirit; and on the other hand, faith without charity, if it may be supposed to be from the Spirit, is likely to have no great matter of unity in it: so, then, where there is no faith, there is no evidence of the Spirit; where there is no charity, there is no hope of unity. They must be both together to complete the unity of the Spirit.

1. First, in relation to our head, Christ; it is our faith must unite us to him, and that faith wrought in us by the Spirit of Christ.^a

There is one Lord, one common Master and Saviour, to whose service we devote ourselves; and one faith to be entertained and adhered to; and one baptism, in which we make profession of that faith; as it is in verse 5. So that this faith is not only *fides quâ credimus*, the grace of faith, by which we are united to Christ, as the head of the invisible church; but *fides quam credimus* too, the doctrine of faith, by which we relate to him also, as we are members of the visible Church, to which this unity is required.

I shall not now dispute the possibility, whether a man may in great part leave the doctrine of faith, and yet

^a Galatians, v. 22.

retain the grace of faith, so as to live by it here, and be saved by it at last; much less shall I undertake to state what points of that doctrine of faith may be relinquished, so as not to prejudice the grace of faith.

This is a thing of dangerous consequence, wherein nothing but an unavoidable, and such as may be a sinless ignorance, can excuse a man. For he that knowingly and willingly leaves the doctrine of faith in any part of it, without doubt runs his soul upon a great hazard of having it cut off from the fellowship of Christ's body, the Church; since the truth of faith is required to the keeping of this unity of the Spirit.

And now let the Church of Rome please herself, as she will, in her pretended unity, if she have not this verity too to show for herself. Indeed, that unity they boast of is but a pretence, whereas they have really more divisions in their religion than they charge ours with. For, as to some of our sects, it is too, too visible by whom they are inspirited, and whither they tend; and they do very uncharitably to impute the crafts of their own men to the constitution of the Church of England, and to make the unhappiness of these loose times, which have given them this opportunity of designing against us, the crime and fault of the Protestant religion; a fault, too, which themselves are more chargeable with.

For (not to mention their other differences about doctrine) those different orders of religion amongst them are neither better nor worse than so many sects and several casts of religion; only they have that advantage, in managing their divisions, which we have not, to pack up their fanatics into convents and cloisters, and

so bring them under some kind of rule and government.

But had they that unity they brag of, which they have not, unity itself, unless there be verity too, is no essential mark, no true note of the Church: since it is nothing but truth can justify unity itself; and consent in error is as far from making a true Church, as a conspiracy of traitors or a combination of highwaymen is from being a lawful assembly.

And with what face can they boast the unity of the Spirit with the Apostles and primitive Saints, from whom they pretend their succession, when they have, in so many weighty matters of faith and high points of truth, manifestly departed from them?

To keep up the unity of the Spirit, then, there must be the unity of the same faith.

And this as to the union of the members with their head.

2. Again, as the members stand related to one another, there must be the communication of charity, by which they are to be united among themselves. There must be goodness as well as truth.

“The fruit of the Spirit,” says the Apostle, “is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, meekness,” Gal. v. 22. Now, where the fruit of the Spirit is not, it cannot well be that there the unity of the Spirit should be; and here he tells us, in the verse foregoing the text, that we must “with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love, endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.” It is in vain to endeavour to keep this unity

without those good qualities and charitable offices whereby it may be secured and maintained.

Further, from this communion of the members with one another among themselves, there flows a double result, both of them very requisite for keeping this unity of the Spirit.

1. An inward sympathy of mind, an intimate sense and fellow-feeling of one another's griefs and joys, wants and supplies, distresses and succours, by charitable instincts, as we are members of the same body, animated by the same Spirit. This is the second branch of the unity of Spirit.

2. An outward symmetry of parts, a fair comportment and decorum of shape and proportion, of order and decency, of posture and carriage to each other in God's worship and church ministrations, as we are fellow-members compacted and knit together by bands and ligaments; this the bond of peace.

And in both these respects, all the members seem to contribute to the safety and beauty of the whole, and to be mutually concerned in the ease and welfare of their fellow-members; and this is, or ought to be, amongst all Christians, as members of the same mystical body.

First, that in charity they sympathise one with another, in all that befalls them, well or ill, in mutual congratulations and condolences.

When one member suffers, the rest suffer with it^a, and upon all occasions express their affectionate resentments, and their readiness of serving to the good of the whole and of every part.

^a 1 Cor. xii. 26.

This is that the Apostle enjoins, Rom. xii. 15., “to rejoice with them that rejoice, and to weep with them that weep.”

The nerves, if touched with a sense of pain, even in the extreme and utmost parts of the body, speed notice of it presently through the whole body, and make a sudden report to the brain, the seat and original of the senses; and it is the same soul supplies every part with animal spirits.

The members, all in their several places and offices, serve one another, and they do all naturally expect, and as kindly accept, mutual assistances; nor does any one say to the other, “I have no need of thee^a”; nor do they intrude upon one another’s provinces, but with great quietness discharge every one the duties of its proper station.

O what a blessed unity of the Spirit would it be, if Christians that profess one common faith would be thus like-minded, and would commensurate their charity to their faith! If they would joy in their brethren’s well-doing, as our Saviour tells us^b the saints and angels in heaven do, and lament their miscarriages, communicate to them in their wants, and be comforted in their comforts! if we would provoke one another unto good works^c, and do no ill to any one, though provoked!

These are the surest ligaments and ties of Christian society, when the minds of professors are linked together in love.

The very name of friendship, though upon secular accounts, is a sacred thing; how much greater obliga-

^a 1 Cor. xii. 21.

^b Luke, xv. 7.

^c Heb. x. 24.

tions doth religion lay upon us, which is the highest friendship, as that which ties us together in God, making us fellow-citizens with the saints, and partners in God's own household?^a

O how would that city be the joy of the whole earth^b, if it were but "compact together^c," and at unity with itself! and how pleasant a thing would it be to see Christian brethren live together in unity!^d

But now this is our great misery, and perverseness to boot, that a small difference in religion opens a wide breach in charity, and an inconsiderable disagreement of opinion procures an irreconcilable divorce of affection.

To that sad pass religion is come, that whereas the main business and design of it is, to persuade unity amongst men, and cannot itself otherwise well subsist; yet it is made generally the main occasion of quarrel, and become the greatest *boutefeu* and disturber of peace in the world. And there are not wanting those who fancy that the unity of the Spirit here prescribed cannot better be kept than by disuniting, that is, by uniting against the Church; and make that blessed Spirit, whose fruit is peace and gentleness, the author and fomenter of discord and strife; as if the fiery tongues^e he appeared in had been designed for incendiaries; and the zeal, signified by those sacred flames, could not be fairlier expressed than in rash heats and foolish animosities; and the rushing of the wind, which filled the room where the disciples were met, portended only con-

^a Eph. ii. 19.

^d Psalm cxxxiii. 1.

^b Psalm xlviii. 2.

^e Acts, ii. 2, 3.

^c Psalm cxxii. 3.

tinual storms and tempests to the Christian Church, and those to be bred within her own bowels.

But this is a subject not so fit, perhaps, for a public declamation in the pulpit as for our private mourning in the closet; that that which our Lord and Master made the cognizance and badge of discipleship, that we should "love one another^a," is now so universally worn off and disowned, that if charity be the measure we must take of our religion, it may well-near be a question whether there be such a thing as Christianity left in the world.

And surely, if charity be so decayed among Christians in the inward principle of it, it can be no wonder to see it so much lost in the outward circumstances and decorum of religion, which is our next consideration, and that which is mainly intended by the bond of peace.

III. That the members of this body keep a fair correspondence as to their outward appearance; that they be united in the decency of public worship, and in the order of polity and church-government.

This is exactly observed in the frame of the body, where all the parts, being compacted and fitly joined together, bear a due proportion and symmetry to the whole, and to one another in particular.

Where there are fractions and divisions, ruptures and dislocations in the body, there may be wens and tumours, botches and strumous swellings, imposthumes and gangrens; but through the interception of those spirits, which should unite and maintain the parts, there can be no orderly and regular growth.

^a John, xiii. 35.

And thus it is in all buildings, where, if the parts hang loose from one another, the whole structure must of necessity be tottering and unsteady.

This is that the Apostle tells these Ephesians, chap. ii. verse 20, 21., that they are “built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone. In whom,” says he, “all the building, fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord.” Intimating, there can be no true growth without this harmony and mutual coherence.

They must be built together; and that cannot well be where they separate and stand off from church communion, and keep asunder.

Faction may grow indeed, by itself, in its separations; it may grow numerous and heady; but this is not growing in the Lord.

If there be a schism and rent in the body, those parts which are cut off from its continuity and fellowship must needs wither and languish, and in short time dwindle and fall to decay, by having the conveyances and passages of the spirits obstructed or intercepted, by which they were to be enlivened and maintained.

It is the unity of worship and outward ministrations that is this bond of peace; that which keeps the Church in peace, by tying and binding up the members of it together.

This is that seamless and uniform coat^a our Saviour wore; by which was signified the beauty and strength of church ordinances and orderly assemblies in regular and solemn devotions.

^a John, xix. 23.

But now, alas ! how have we in several parties (with the soldiers) parted Christ's vesture, and cast lots upon his garments !

To return to the metaphor of the body : it is the continuity of the sinews and other vessels, which are disseminated throughout all the parts of the body, which, by a communication of spirits, preserves all the parts in life, and keeps the body itself in health and peace ; when that is once stopped or checked, when there is *solutio continui*, when the bond of peace is once broken, the parts at distance must inevitably, for want of nutriment, decay, and the body itself be in great disorder.

Further, the Church in the Canticles is compared to an army with banners^a, a society cast into regimental order, where every one keeps to his company, and walks orderly, according to the rules of discipline, in rank and file. It is the due observance of this discipline that is to make her terrible ; for an army, though it make war upon the enemy, must be at peace within itself, by having the soldiers in a punctual obedience to their officers, and in a strict regard to the rules and methods of war, if it mean to prove victorious and successful.

And now, what hopes can we, alas ! of the English Church conceive of victory and good success, that we shall bear up against a common enemy, when we are thus divided among ourselves ? Since it is a sad truth our Saviour has told us, that " a house divided against itself cannot stand^b ;" so that, had we no other enemies but ourselves, we cannot promise ourselves long thus to subsist.

^a Cant. vi. 4.

^b Matt. xii. 25.

May God of his mercy heal these our divisions, and tie us up once more in the bond of peace; for it is not the unity of doctrine alone (did we keep up to that) can keep up this unity of Spirit in the bond of peace, without the unity of worship too; since we find by experience, that those who have once divided from the communion of the Church (be it upon whatever pretence), seldom stop there, but to justify their separation, improve it, dividing further on still, and so run endless division, till they have burst all bands asunder, and cast the cords (or, as some interpreters render it, the yoke^a) of government from them.

Now, this bond of peace, wherein the unity of the Spirit is to be kept, as was said, mainly respects the ordering of our public assemblies; and that in all religious exercises and duties, as in the reading and expounding of the Word, in the celebration of holy offices, and particularly in the administration and use of the sacraments, where the Spirit is in a more peculiar manner present and assistant. Here is, indeed, the unity of the Spirit, the one sacrament admitting us into church-fellowship, and the other confirming us in it. So our St. Paul, 1 Cor. xii. 13.: "For by one Spirit," says he, "are we all baptized into one body, and are all made to drink into one Spirit." And to these sacraments his record, his testimony or evidence, is more particularly applied and appropriated. 1 John, v. 8., "There are three that bear witness on earth, the water" in the one sacrament, "the blood" in the other, "and the Spirit" in both; in like manner as "there are three that bear

^a Psalm ii. 3.

record in heaven, the Father, Son, and Spirit;" to show the effectual influences and applications of the same Spirit both above and below; that as those three witnesses in heaven are one, that is, one in essence, so these three on earth agree in one, they are *εἷς ἐν*, *ad unum*, one in consent, or *in unum*, one in purpose and design, to make us the members of the Church, one: as the Father and Son are one, in the unity of the same Spirit.

IV. A word or two of our last head, that we may draw to a conclusion; and that is partly the arguments why we should endeavour, and partly the means how we may attain, this unity of the Spirit, and preserve it in the bond of peace.

And those we cannot find better than what St. Paul himself has set down, and we need seek no farther for them than the context. The arguments in the three verses following the text, and the means in the verse foregoing.

1. The arguments are taken from all three persons of the blessed Trinity.

(1.) From the Spirit, verse 4., that there is one body, the Church; and one Spirit, which is to animate that body; and one hope of our calling, that is, one and the same hope of glory to which we are called, and of which we are assured by the Spirit, as we are members of that body.

(2.) From the Son, verse 5., that there is one Lord, Christ, the head of the Church; one faith, to bring us to Christ; and one baptism to admit us into the Church.

(3.) From the Father, verse 6., that there is "one

God and Father of us all," our God by title of creation, and our Father by adoption in Christ.

Now seeing, then, that every thing in our religion is thus one, we stand obliged to endeavour the preservation of unity among ourselves; since, by dividing ourselves, we not only weaken our Christian interests, but endanger the forfeiture of those great advantages which Christ's religion affords us.

2. Again, the means and helps of keeping up this unity in the bond of peace, are four, as they are reckoned up, verse 2.

(1.) Lowliness; that we have a mean and humble opinion of ourselves, pride being the great make-bate, and the very leaven of schism.

(2.) Meekness; that we show mild behaviour towards others, and even where there may be just occasion for zeal, yet express no wrath.

(3.) Long-sufferance; that, whereas a patient spirit is a peaceable spirit, we do not precipitate into passion or revenge, but bear with others' infirmities and injuries too, and overcome their evil with our good.^a

(4.) Forbearance in love; that we take not advantage of others' ignorance or weakness, nor misconstrue things to the worst sense, but hope all things and believe all things of brethren to the best.

And this, if we could do, however difficult the thing itself may be, however unreasonable others may prove in standing out against unity and peace; yet it will be charitable, it will be Christian-like for us, with all our skill and interest, to endeavour it according to his rule

^a Rom. xii. 21.

elsewhere, "if it be possible, as much as in us lies, to live peaceably with all men^a;" and God may in time give success to such our endeavours.

Would we, I say, we especially, who are subjects, (for these virtues here recommended, as they are very becoming to greatest persons, so they are absolutely necessary to inferiors,) would we deny our own peevish reasonings and froward passions; would we think well of others, which we cannot well do as long as we think too well of ourselves, and meekly submit to our governors in things not sinful, as God's law, no less than man's, obliges us to do; would we possess our souls in patience, and resolve rather to suffer any the greatest wrong, than to do the least; would we not judge the worst, and forbear one another in love, as charity obliges us, but in all indifferent matters make candid interpretations, this would be on all hands a suitable temper for reducing us to unity, and a probable means of securing our peace.

I have done. Only let me beg your patience a little further, while I briefly apply.

I have before partly shown that those of Rome have not fairly kept up this unity of the Spirit with the truly ancient and Catholic Church; and, by that means, have fallen into those dangerous errors in doctrine as well as practices in worship, that we cannot, without sin, hold communion with them.

My business now is, with all mildness, to address a few words to our dissenting brethren amongst ourselves, who (break I will not say, but at least) slacken this bond

^a Rom. xii. 18.

of peace ; for where people live in an open violation of laws, it cannot properly be termed a state of peace.

I know they will say, that they, for their parts, do keep this unity by maintaining all gospel truths ; nay, and that as to orthodoxy they are true sons of the Church. If it be so, I wish they were such at all points, and am sorry we should agree in doctrinals, and not agree in circumstantialia.

Further, they will tell us that they are men of peaceable minds, that wish well to the Government, and, when time was, contributed much by their prayers, and interests, and endeavours, to its happy restitution. It shall be none of my task to reflect upon persons or parties : I am willing to allow them all the merit they can reasonably lay claim to.

But let me ask them, why, then, since we do profess the same truths of God, own one common Saviour, our blessed Lord, in his all-sufficient merit and infinite satisfaction, and pretend to be guided by the same Spirit ; since we are obliged, in our obedience to the same government, and live under the protection of the same laws ; why, I say, do they divide from us and withdraw from our communion, to the endangering, at least, if not the disturbance, of our peace ?

To this they answer, that they leave us upon the same ground as we ourselves left the Romish Church.

But this, besides that it is a calumny, for she labours under those errors in doctrine, and superstitions in worship, that we cannot, without sin, hold communion with her, as I said : whereas our Church has, as to her doctrines, laid them down in her Articles and Homilies

past all exception; and, as to the ceremonies of her worship, has, in her preface to the Liturgy, given so prudent and just an account, that none can be offended but those who will be pleased with nothing but what they do themselves: I say, beside this, the case is no way the same betwixt them and the Church of England, as it was betwixt us and the Church of Rome.

For we only flung off an unjust power (as it concerned and became us to do) which they had usurped over us; but these desert a Church of which they are members, into which they were baptized, and were, by their very birth, engaged in an obedience to her supreme moderator and governor; and for them to deny this supremacy, is (I must tell them) neither better nor worse than that which they would seem so utterly to detest, rank downright popery.

So that there is a great deal of difference both in the ground and manner of our proceeding, since what we did was done by public debate and authority in a just vindication of our own liberties; but what they do is done upon their own heads, and I know not what private dissatisfactions, in a seeming defiance of that obedience which, both naturally and religiously, they owe to the laws and constitutions of their country: these, as long as they contain nothing in them that is forbidden by the Word of God, binding the conscience of subjects, according to that of St. Paul, Rom. xiii. 5., that to just powers over us we must needs be subject, "not only for wrath, but for conscience' sake."

To bring the matter to a close point and a speedy issue, I do further demand of them in one or two in-

stances, by which we may be able to judge of all the rest; namely, what they do think of the Lord's Day, and of the English Bible?

Let me not be misunderstood, while I speak of things, which I hope we have all a great reverence for.

Their answer will be, no doubt, which is the hearty sense of every pious Christian amongst us, that they have a high esteem and veneration for them, insomuch, that if they were put to the sad choice, they would rather part with their lives than quit them.

I must again ask them how they came into this opinion — upon what account they have entertained this esteem? Express command of Scripture there is none, either for the one, as we keep it, or for the other as we read it.

For as to the Sabbath, there is an express command indeed for the seventh day to be kept, but not so for the first; and supposing that the observation of the seventh day from the creation, being ceremonial and peculiar to the Jewish people, the morality of that precept lay in this, that one day of seven should be kept for a Sabbath, yet why this day of the week should be made choice of, and set aside for that use, rather than any other, there is no moral reason to be given; for if so, it would have been (as all things of that nature are) of a perpetual and universal obligation: and our Saviour, whose doctrine was not defective in any thing necessary, would probably (had the case been such) have given some order about it himself, and not left it in a manner wholly, as he has done, to the judgment and determination of the Church.

Again, for the Bible, as our people have it, allowing that by that place of the Apostle to the Corinthians ^a, might be proved the necessity of having Holy Scriptures translated into the vulgar languages of all people where they come; yet why this translation, rather than any other (as others there were, and many more might have been), should be commended to public use; or why any one verse of the Bible is thus rendered as it is, and not otherwise, was solely at the discretion of the Church, by whose order the translators were employed, and their labours in the work accepted and approved of.

It remains, then, that in these two instances at least, which themselves own as the great instruments of piety and advantages of religion, they do (whether they will confess it or no) submit themselves wholly to the prudence and authority of the Church; for they have no other ground to stand upon.

Now, why they own her authority in things of so great importance, and reject it in others of lesser alloy, we want their reason, as well as their humility; unless they have learned to “strain at gnats and swallow camels.”^b

To make short, that I may show how unreasonable, and of how ill example their non-compliance is, from hence I infer (which they can never deny) that upon the same account, and by the same arguments as they, I mean those who first broke the pale, and led the way to other separations, threw off Episcopacy and Liturgy; upon the same account, and by the same arguments, others of them disclaim ordination, and, to the unavoid-

^a 1 Cor. xiv.

^b Matt. xxiii. 24.

able confusion of families, as well as public societies, set up the congregational way; upon the same account, and for the same reasons, others decry infant-baptism; upon the same account others judaize in the day, as most of them do in the manner of the Sabbath rest; lastly, upon the same account, those whom they reckon the worst of sects, do not want something to plead for themselves unanswerably to them.

I say, by the same reason as they reject all other institutions and usages of the Church, they may also, if they please, cast off those two we instanced in, for which they have so high a veneration; seeing that the obligation, though it may be in a higher degree to some of these things more than to others, yet it is in all of them of a like nature, and of the same kind, as being things mainly, if not merely, of ecclesiastical institution and practice.

After all, there are some of Machiavil's school, who will say, that state policy may make good advantage of church divisions, and that the magistrate may the better settle himself by balancing parties.

I cannot tell what policy they mean; but to make divisions and factions the measure of rule, *divide et impera*, is a maxim rather proper for a cloven-footed usurpation than for a just monarchy, whose rights are established by laws, and whose interests are certainly best preserved by the religious union of its subjects in God's public worship.

But that is none of my business. It is enough for us below, to beseech God of his mercy that he will, by his grace, infuse the best counsels into the hearts of princes

our governors, and by his good providence give them answerable success.

To end therefore as I began: let us in this solemn time of our humiliation, after the confession of our own sins, and the deprecation of those judgments due to us for them, according to David's example in his penitential Psalm li., (which he closes with a prayer for Church and State, that God would be gracious unto Sion, and build up the walls of Jerusalem,) let us take the public concerns into our devout consideration, bewail our national distractions, and beg of God to avert the fatal consequences of them, to heal our divisions, and repair our breaches.

Let us pray to him, that having put it into the heart of our gracious sovereign, by his authority and his own example, to endeavour the keeping this unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, he would grant him that honour in the success, that as one of his royal progenitors united the two families, and his grandfather, of happy memory, united the two kingdoms, so he may unite the minds of his dissenting subjects in truth and peace.

May the public counsels effectually comply with the royal sentiments; and may we in our several places assist them with our prayers and pious endeavours, and may Dissenters themselves, laying aside all animosity or whatever sinister design, and consulting with that religion, which is first pure, and then peaceable, with all lowliness and meekness^a (which are the best and truest characters of a tender conscience), yield a rational and

^a James, iii. 17.

conscientious obedience to those wholesome rules of decency and order, wherein our peace is bound up; and all to the glory of the great God, whose name and worship is much disparaged by our divisions, to the honour and security of the government, and to the welfare of all us its subjects, who want no advantage to make us the bravest and happiest people in the world, but this unity and peace, which the God of peace of his mercy grant unto us for his Son's sake, the Prince of Peace^a, through his blessed Spirit, whose fruit is peace.^b To whom, Father, Son, and Spirit, three persons and one God, be all glory, honour, and praise, now, and for ever. Amen.

^a Isa. ix. 6.

^b Gal. v. 22.

THE BEAUTY AND UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

[BISHOP HALL.]

CANT. vi. 9.

My Dove, my Undeiled is but one.

OUR last day's discourse was (as you heard) of war and dissipation; this shall be of love and unity. Away with all profane thoughts; every syllable of this bridal song is divine. Who doubts that the bridegroom is Christ, the bride his Church? the Church, whether at large in all the faithful, or abridged in every faithful soul. Christ, the bridegroom, praises the bride, his Church, for her beauty, for her entireness: for her beauty, she is *columba*, a dove; she is *perfecta*, undeiled: her entireness is praised by her propriety, in respect of him; *Columba mea*, my dove; by her unity in respect of herself; *una*, one alone; "My dove, my undeiled is but one:" So as the beautiful sincerity, the dear propriety, the indivisible unity of the whole church in common, and of the epitome thereof every regenerate soul, is the matter of my text, of my speech, let your holy attention follow me, and find yourselves in every particular.

The two first titles, *columba* and *perfecta*, are in effect

but one. This creature hath a pleasing beauty, and an innocent simplicity; *columba* imports the one, and *perfecta* the other; yea, each both: for what is the perfection which can be attained here, but sincerity? and what other is our honest sincerity, than those graceful proportions and colours which make us appear lovely in the eyes of God?

The undefiled then interprets the dove, and convertibly; for, therefore is the Church undefiled, because she is a dove; she is, as Christ bade her (*ἀκεραῖος*), innocent, Matt. x. 16., and therefore is she Christ's dove, because she is undefiled with the gall of spiritual bitterness.

Had ye rather see these graces apart; look then first at the loveliness, then at the harmlessness of the Church, of the soul.

Everything in the dove is amiable: her eyes, Cant. i. 15., her feathers, Psalm lxxviii. 13., and what not? So is the Church in the eyes of Christ; and therefore the vulgar translation puts both these together, "*Columba mea, formosa mea*," Cant. ii. 10., which Lucas Brugensis confesses not to be in the Hebrew, yet adds, *Ne faciliè omittas*.

Thy dove, O God; yea, why not thy raven rather? I am sure she can say of herself, "I am black." And if our own hearts condemn us, thou art greater. Alas, what canst thou see in us, but the pustules of corruption, the morpheus of deformity, the hereditary leprosy of sin, the pestilential spots of death? And dost thou say, "My dove, my undefiled?" Let malice speak her

^a My dove, my fair one.

worst. The Church says she is black, but she says she is comely; and that is fair that pleaseth. Neither doth God look upon us with our eyes, but with his own. He sees not as man seeth. The king's daughter is all glorious within; finite eyes reach not thither. The skin-deep beauty of earthly faces is a fit object for our shallow sense that can see nothing but colour.

Have ye not seen some pictures which, being looked on one way, show some ugly beast or bird, another way show an exquisite face? Even so doth God see our best side with favour, while we see our worst with rigour. Not that his justice sees anything as it is not; but that his mercy will not see some things as they are. "Blessed is the man whose sin is covered," Psalm xxxii. 1. If we be foul, yet thou, O Saviour, art glorious; thy righteousness beautifies us, who are blemished by our own corruptions. But what! shall our borrowed beauty blemish the while thine infinite justice? Shall we taint thee to clear ourselves? Dost thou justify the wicked? Dost thou feather the raven with the wings of the dove? Whilst the cloth is fair, is the skin nasty? Is it no more but to deck a blackamoor with white? even with the long white robes which are the justifications of saints? God forbid; cursed be he, O Lord, that makes thy mercies unjust. No; whom thou accountest holy, thou makest so; whom thou justifiest, him thou sanctifiest. No man can be perfectly just in thee, who is not truly, though imperfectly, holy in himself. Whether, therefore, as fully just by thy gracious imputation, or, as inchoately just by thy gracious inoperation, we are in both "thy Dove, thy undefiled." In spite of all the blemishes of

her outward administrations, God's Church is beautiful : in spite of her inward weaknesses, the faithful soul is comely : in spite of both, each of them is a dove, each of them undefiled ; it is with both, as he said long since of physicians, " the sun sees their successes, the earth hides their errors." None of their unwilling infirmities can hinder the God of mercies from a gracious allowance of their integrity. Behold thou art all fair ; but let no idle Donatist of Amsterdam dream hence of an utopical perfection : even here is the Dove still but, *Columba seducta* or *fatua* (as Tremelius reads it), " Ephraim, Ephraim is a silly seduced dove," Hos. vii. 11. The ripeness of their familiar excommunications may have taught them to seek for a spotlessness above ; and if their furious censures had left but one man in their church, yet that one man would have need to excommunicate the greater half of himself, the old man in his own bosom. Our Church may too truly speak of them in the voice of God, " Woe to them, for they have fled from me," Hos. vii. 13. It is not in the power of their uncharity to make the rest of God's Church, and ours, any other than what it is, " The Dove of Christ, the undefiled."

The harmlessness follows, a quality so eminent in the dove that our Saviour hath hereupon singled it out for an hieroglyphic of simplicity ; whence it was, questionless, that God, of all fowls, chose out this for his sacrifice ; *Sin ex aliqua volucris*, Levit. i. 14. And before the Law, Abraham was appointed no other (Gen. xv. 9.) than a turtle and a pigeon ; neither did the Holy Virgin offer any other, at her purifying, than this emblem of

herself and her blessed babe. Shortly, hence it was that a dove was employed for the messenger of the exsiccation of the deluge, no fowl so fit to carry an olive of peace to the Church which she represented. And, lastly, in a dove, the Holy Ghost descended upon the meek Saviour of the world; whence (as Illyricus and some ancients have guessed) the sellers of doves were whipped out of the temple, as simoniacal chafferers of the Holy Ghost. The Church, then, is a dove; not an envious partridge, not a careless ostrich, not a stridulous jay; not a petulant sparrow, not a deluding lapwing; not an unclean-fed duck, not a noisome crow, not an unthankful swallow, not a death-boding screech-owl; but a harmless dove—that fowl in which alone envy itself can find nothing to tax. Hear this, then, ye violent spirits, that think there can be no piety that is not cruel. The Church is a dove, not a glede, not a vulture, not a falcon, not an eagle, not any bird of prey or rapine. Who ever saw the rough foot of the dove armed with griping talons? who ever saw the beak of the dove bloody? who ever saw that innocent bird pluming of her spoil, and tiring upon bones? Indeed, we have seen the Church crimson-suited, like her celestial Husband, of whom the prophet, “Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah?” and straight “Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel, and thy garment like him that treadeth in the wine-press?” Isa. lxiii. 1, 2. But it hath been with her own blood, shed by others; not with others’ blood shed by her hand. She hath learned to suffer what she hateth to inflict. Do ye see any faction with knives in their hands, stained

with massacres? with firebrands in their hands ready to kindle the unjust stakes, yea, woods of martyrdom? with pistols and poniards in their hands, ambitiously affecting a canonization by the death of God's anointed? with matches in their hands, ready to give fire unto that powder which shall blow up king, prince, state, church? with thunderbolts of censures, ready to strike down into hell whosoever refuses to receive novel opinions into the Articles of Faith? If ye find these dispositions and actions dove-like, applaud them, as beseeeming the true spouse of Christ, who is ever like herself; *columba perfecta*; yea, *perfecta columba*, a true dove for her quiet innocence. For us, let our doveship approve itself in meekness of suffering, not in actions of cruelty; we may, we must delight in blood; but the blood shed for us, not shed by us. Thus let us be, *columba in foram inibus petræ*, Cant. ii. 14.; a dove in the clefts of the rock, that is, *in vulneribus Christi*^a, as the gloss; in the gashes of him that is the true rock of the Church: this is the way to be innocent, to be beautiful, a dove, and undefiled.

The propriety follows; "My dove." The kite, or the crow, or the sparrow, and such like, are challenged by no owner; but the dove still hath a master. The world runs wild, it is *feræ naturæ*; but the Church is Christ's domestically, entirely his; my dove, not the world's, not her own. Not the world's; for "if ye were of the world," saith our Saviour, "the world would love his own; but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you,"

^a In the wounds of Christ.

John, xv. 19. Not her own; so St. Paul, 1 Cor. vi. 19. "Ye are not your own, for ye are bought with a price." Justly, then, may he say, "My dove;" mine, for I made her; there is the right of creation: mine, for I made her again; there is the right of regeneration: mine, for I bought her; there is the right of redemption: mine, for I made her mine; there is the right of spiritual and inseparable union. O God, be we thine, since we are thine: we are thine by thy merit; let us be thine in our affections, in our obedience. It is our honour, it is our happiness, that we may be thine; have thou all thine own. Why should any piece of us be cast away upon the vain glory and trash of this transitory world? Why should the powers of darkness run away with any of our services, in the momentary pleasures of sin? The great King of heaven hath cast his love upon us, and hath espoused us to himself, in truth and righteousness. Oh, then, why will we cast roving and lustful eyes upon adulterous rivals, base drudges? yea, why will we run on maddening after ugly devils? How justly shall he loath us, if we be thus shamefully prostituted? Away, then, with all our unchaste glances of desires; all unclean ribaldry of conversation. Let us say mutually with the blessed spouse, "My beloved is mine, and I am his," Cant. ii. 16.

"My dove;" mine, as to love, so to defend: that inference is natural, "I am thine, save me." Interest challenges protection: the hand says, It is my head, therefore I will guard it: the head says, It is my hand, therefore I will devise to arm it, to withdraw it from violence; the soul says, It is my body, therefore I will cast to

cherish it; the body says, It is my soul, therefore I would not part with it; the husband says, Bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh, and therefore (θάλλει) he makes much of her, Ephes. v. 29.; and as she is *desiderium oculorum*, "the delight of his eyes" to him, Ezek. xxiv. 16., so is he *operimentum oculorum*, "the shelter of her eyes" to her, Gen. xx. 16. In all cases it is thus: so, as if God say of the Church, *Columba mea*, my dove, she cannot but say of him, *Adjutor meus*, my helper. Neither can it be otherwise, save where is lack either of love or power. Here can be no lack of either: not of love: he saith, "Whoso toucheth Israel, toucheth the apple of mine eye;" not of power, "Our God doth whatsoever he will, both in heaven and earth."

Band yourselves, therefore, ye bloody tyrants of the world, against the poor despised Church of God; threaten to trample it to dust; and when you have done, to carry away that dust upon the soles of your shoes. He that sits in heaven laughs you to scorn, the Lord hath you in derision. Oh, virgin Daughter of Sion, they have despised thee! oh, daughter of Jerusalem, they have shaken their heads at thee! But whom have ye reproached and blasphemed? and against whom have ye exalted your voice, and lift up your eyes on high? Even against the Holy one of Israel, who hath said, *Columba mea*, my dove.

Yea, let all the spiritual wickednesses in heavenly places, all the legions of hell troop together, they shall as soon be able to pluck God out of his throne of heaven as to pull one feather from the wing of this dove. This propriety secures her: she is *columba mea*, my dove.

From the propriety, turn your eyes to the best of her properties, Unity. Let me leave arithmeticians disputing whether unity be a number. I am sure it is both the beginning of all numbering numbers, and the beginning and end of all numbers numbered. All perfection rises hence, and runs hither; and every thing, the nearer it comes to perfection, gathers up itself the more towards unity, as all the virtue of the loadstone is re-collected into one point. Jehovah, our God, is one; from him there is but one world, one heaven in that world, one sun in that heaven, one uniform face of all that glorious vault; the nature of the holy angels is one, and simple as creatures can be; the head of angels and saints, one Saviour, whose blessed humanity, if it carry some semblance of composition, yet it is answered by a threefold union of one and the same subject, a double union of the Deity, with the humanity, a third union of the humanity in itself; so that, as in the Deity there is one essence and three persons, in Christ is one person and three essences, united into that one. If from heaven we look to earth, from God to men: we have but one earth, one church in that earth, one king in that church, and, for us, one deputy of that king, one sceptre, one law of both; one baptism, one faith, *cor unum, viam unam*; and all these make up *columbam unam*, one dove. It would, perhaps, be no unnecessary excursion to take hereupon occasion to discourse of the perfectest form of church-government, and to dispute the case of that long and busy competition betwixt monarchy and aristocracy. Ingenuous Richier, the late eye-sore of the Sorbonne, hath made (methinks) an equal

arbitration—that the State is monarchical, the regiment aristocratical. The State absolutely monarchical in Christ, dispensatively monarchical in respect of particular churches; forasmuch as that power, which is inherent in the Church, is dispensed, and executed by some prime ministers, like as the faculty of seeing given to the man is exercised by the eye, which is given for this use to man. And if, for the aristocratical regiment, there be in the native senate of the Church (which is a general council) a power to enact canons for the wielding of this great body (as more eyes see more than one), yet how can this consist without unity? *Concilium* is not so much a *concalando*, as Calepine hath mistaken, as a *conciliando*; or as Isidore, a *ciliis oculorum*, which ever move together. In this aristocracy there is an unity; for as that old word was long since, *Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur*. In a word, no regiment, no state, can have any form, but deformity, without unity.

Neither is there more perfection than strength in unity. Large bodies, if of a stronger composition, yet, because the spirits are diffused, have not that vigour and activity which a well-knit body hath in a more slender frame. The praise of the invincible strength of Jerusalem was not so much in the natural walls, the hills round about it, as in the mutual compactedness within itself; and Solomon tells us it is the twisted cord that is not easily broken. The rule of Vegetius that he gives for his best stratagem is (that which our Jesuits know too well), to set strife where we desire ruin. Our Saviour says that of every city, which one said

anciently of Carthage, that division was the best ensign to batter it; a city divided cannot stand. On the contrary, of every happy church, of every firm state, is that verified which God speaks in the whirlwind of leviathan's scales, *uni una conjungitur*; one is joined to another, that the wind cannot pass between them; they stick together that they cannot be sundered. Job, xli. 16.

That there is perfection and strength in unity cannot be doubted; but how agrees this unity to Christ's dove, his Church? It shall be thus absolutely *in patriâ*, at home; but, how is it *in viâ*, in the passage? Even here it is one too. Not divided, not multiplied. To begin with the former. It hath been a stale quarrel, that hath been raised from the divisions of the Christian world; worn threadbare even by the pens and tongues of Porphyry, Libanius, Celsus, Julian; and after them, Valens the emperor was puzzled with it; till Themistius, that memorable Christian philosopher, in a notable oration of his, convinced this idle cavil; telling the emperor, he should not wonder at the dissensions of Christians; that these were nothing in comparison of the differences of the Gentile philosophers, which had above three hundred several opinions in agitation at once; and that God meant, by this variety of judgments, to illustrate his own glory, that every man might learn so much more to adore his Majesty, by how much harder it is rightly to apprehend him. The justice of this exception hath been confessed, and bewailed of old, by the ancient fathers: St. Chrysostom shall speak for all; *Deridiculo facti sumus et Gentibus, et Judæis dum ecclesia in mille partes scinditur*; we are made a scorn to Jews and Gen-

tiles (saith he) whilst the Church is torn into a thousand pieces. Little do these fools, that stumble at these contentions, know the weight of St. Paul's *Oportet*; there must be heresies; little are they acquainted with God's fashions in all his works. Hath he not set contrary motions in the very heavens? Are not the elements (the main stuff of the world) contrary to each other in their forms and qualities? Hath he not made the natural day to consist of light and darkness? The year of seasons contrarily tempered; yea, all things (according to the guess of that old philosopher) *ex lite et amicitia*? And shall we need to teach God how to frame his Church? Will these wise censurers accuse the heavens of misplacing the elements of mistemper? or check the day with the deformity of his darkness? or upbraid the fair beauty of the year with icicles and wrinkles? or condemn that real friendship that arises from debate? If the wise and holy Moderator of all things did not know how by these fires of contradiction to try men, and to purify his truth, and to glory himself, how easy were it for him to quench them, and confound their authors!

Can they commend it in a wise Scipio, that he would not have Carthage (though their greatest enemy) destroyed, *ut timore libido premeretur, libido pressa non luxuriaretur*, that riot might be curbed with fear, as St. Austin expresses it; and shall not the most wise God have leave to permit an exercise to keep his children in breath, that they be not stuffed up with the foggy unsound humours of the world? When these presuming fools have stumbled, and fallen into the bottom

of hell, the Spouse of Christ shall be still his dove, in the clefts or scissures of the rocks; and she shall call him her “roe or young hart (הַיְי בָּתָר עַל) upon the hills of division.” Cant. ii. the last.

But yet, when all is done, in spite of all dissensions, the Church is *columba una*, one dove. The word is not more common than equivocal; whether ye consider it as the aggregation of the outward, visible, particular churches of Christian professors, or as the inward, secret, universal company of the elect, it is still one. To begin with the former: what is it here below that makes the Church one? One Lord, one faith, one baptism. One Lord, so it is one in the head; one faith, so it is one in the heart; one baptism, so it is one in the face; where these are truly professed to be, though there may be differences of administrations and ceremonies; though there may be differences in opinions, yet there is *columba una*; all those are but diversely-coloured feathers of the same dove. What church, therefore, hath one Lord, Jesus Christ the righteous; one faith in that Lord; one baptism into that faith, it is the one Dove of Christ. To speak more short, one faith abridges all. But what is that one faith? what, but the main fundamental doctrine of religion necessary to be known, to be believed unto salvation? It is a golden and useful distinction that we must take with us, betwixt Christian articles and theological conclusions. Christian articles are the principles of religion necessary to a believer; theological conclusions are school-points, fit for the discourse of a divine. Those articles are few and essential; these conclusions

are many and unimporing (upon necessity) to salvation either way. That church, then, which holds those Christian articles both in terms and necessary consequences (as every visible church of Christ doth), however it vary in these theological conclusions, is *columba una*. Were there not much latitude in this faith, how should we fetch in the ancient Jewish Church to the unity of the Christian? Theirs and ours is but one dove, though the feathers, according to the colour of that fowl, be changeable. It is a fearful account, then, that shall once be given before the dreadful tribunal of the Son of God, the only Husband of this one Church, by those men, who, not like the children of faithful Abraham, divide the dove, multiplying articles of faith according to their own fancies, and casting out of the bosom of the Church those Christians that differ from their either false or unnecessary conclusions. Thus have our great Lords of the seven hills dared to do, whose faction hath both devoured their charity, and scorned ours, to the great prejudice of the Christian world, to the irreparable damage of the glorious gospel of our Lord Jesus. The God of heaven judge, in this great case, betwixt them and us, — us who, firmly holding the foundation of Christian religion in all things, according to the ancient, catholic, apostolic faith, are rejected, censured, condemned, accursed, killed, for refusing their gainful novelties. In the mean time, we can but lament their fury, no less than their errors, and send out our hopeless wishes that the seamless coat might be darned up by their hands that tore it.

From them, to speak to ourselves, who have happily reformed those errors of theirs, which either their ambition or profit would not suffer them to part with; since we are one, why are we sundered? One says, I am Luther's, for consubstantiation; another, I am Calvin's, for discipline; another, I am Arminius's, for predestination; another, I am Barrow's or Browne's, for separation. What frenzy possesses the brains of Christians, thus to squander themselves into factions? It is, indeed, an envious cavil of our common adversaries, to make these so many religions. No; every branch of different opinion doth not constitute a several religion. Were this true, I durst boldly say, old Rome had not more deities than the modern Rome hath religions. These things, though they do not vary religions and churches, yet they trouble the quiet unity of the Church. Brethren, since our religion is one, why are not our tongues one? why do we not bite in our singular conceits, and bind our tongues to the common peace? But if, from particular visible churches, (which, perhaps, you may construe to be the three-score queens here spoken of,) you shall turn your eyes to the true, inward, universal company of God's elect and secret ones, there shall you more perfectly find *columbam unam*, one dove; for, what the other is in profession, this is in truth. That one baptism is here the true laver of regeneration; that one faith is a saving reposal upon Christ; that one Lord is the Saviour of his body. No natural body is more one than this mystical: one Head rules it; one Spirit animates it; one set of joints moves it; one food nourishes it; one robe covers it.

So it is one in itself; so one with Christ, as Christ is one with the Father: "That they may be one even as we are one; I in them, and thou in me." John, xvii. 21. Oh, blessed unity of the saints of God, which none of the make-bates of hell can ever be able to dissolve!

And now, since we are thus, and every other way one, why are we not united in love? why do we in our ordinary conversation suffer slight weaknesses to set off our charity? Mephibosheth was a cripple, yet the perfect love of Jonathan either cures or covers his impotency. We can no more want infirmities than not be men; we cannot stick at infirmities if we be Christians. It is but a poor love that cannot pass over small faults, even *quotidianæ incursionis*, as that Father speaks: it is an injurious niceness to condemn a good face in each other for a little mole. Brethren, let us not aggravate but pity each other's weaknesses; and since we are but one body, let us have but one heart, one way; and if we be the Dove of Christ, and his dove is one, oh, let us be so one with each other, as he is one with us!

And as the Church and Commonwealth are twins, so should this be no less one with itself, and with her temporal head. *Divisum est cor eorum*, their heart is divided, was the judgment upon Israel, Hos. x. 2. Oh, how is every good heart divided in sunder with the grief for the late divisions of our Reuben! We do not mourn, we bleed inwardly for this distraction. But I do willingly smother these thoughts; yea, my just sorrow chokes them in my bosom that they cannot come forth but in sighs and groans. O thou that art the God of

peace, unite all hearts in love to each other, in loyal subjection to their sovereign head. Amen.

As the Church is one in not being divided, so she is but one in not being multiplied. Here is *unus, uni, unam*, as the old word is; he, the true Husband of the Church, who made and gave but one Eve to the first Adam, will take but one wife to himself, the second Adam. There are many particular churches: all these make up but one universal; as many distinct limbs make up but one entire body, many grains one batch, many drops and streams one ocean.

So many regions as there are under heaven that do truly profess the Christian name, so many national churches there are; in all those nations, there are many provincial; in all those provinces, many diocesan; in all those dioceses, many parochial churches; in all those parishes, many Christian families; in all those families, many Christian souls; now all those souls, families, parishes, dioceses, provinces, nations, make up but one Catholic Church of Christ upon earth. The God of the Church cannot abide either conventicles of separation, or pluralities of professions, or appropriations of Catholicism. *Catholique Romain* is an absurd Donatian solecism: this is to seek *orbem in urbe*, as that council said well. Happy were it for that Church, if it were a sound limb (though but the little toe) of that mighty and precious body, wherein no believing Jew or Indian may not challenge to be jointed; neither difference of time, nor distance of place, nor rigour of unjust censure, nor any unessential error, can bar our interest in this blessed unity. As this flourishing Church of Great

Britain (after all the spiteful calumniations of malicious men) is one of the most conspicuous Members of the Catholic upon earth; so we in her communion do make up one body with the holy patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and faithful Christians of all ages and times: we succeed in their faith, we glory in their succession, we triumph in this glory. Whither go ye, then, ye weak, ignorant, seduced souls, that run to seek this dove in a foreign cot? She is here, if she have any nest under heaven: let me never have part in her, or in heaven, if any Church in the world have more part in the Universal. Why do we wrong ourselves with the contradistinction of Protestant and Catholic? We do only protest this, that we are perfect Catholics. Let the pretended look to themselves: we are sure we are as Catholic as true faith can make us; as much one as the same Catholic faith can make us; and in this undoubted right, we claim and enjoy the sweet and inseparable communion with all the blessed members of that mystical body both in earth and heaven; and by virtue thereof, with the glorious head of that dear and happy body Jesus Christ the righteous, the Husband to this one Wife, the Mate to this one Dove; to whom, with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, three persons and one God, be given all praise, honour, and glory, now and for ever. Amen.

BELIEF IN THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH.

[BISHOP PEARSON.]

IN this ninth Article we meet with some variety of position, and with much addition; for whereas it is here the ninth, in some Creeds we find it the last^a; and

^a Although generally the Article of the *Holy Church* did immediately follow the Article of the Holy Ghost, as Tertullian well observeth, *Cùm sub tribus et testatio fidei et sponsio salutis pignorentur, necessariò adjicitur Ecclesiæ mentio, quoniam ubi tres, id est, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, ibi Ecclesia quæ trium corpus est. De Baptis. c. 6.* And S. Aug. in *Enchir. c. 56.* Spiritus S. si creatura non Creator esset, profectò creatura rationalis esset. Ipse enim esset summa creatura; et ideo in Regula fidei non poneretur ante Ecclesiam, quia et ipse ad Ecclesiam pertineret. And the author of this first book *De Symb. ad Catech.* Sequitur post S. Trinitatis ad commendationem S. Ecclesia, and S. Hieron. cited in the next note. Yet notwithstanding this order was not always observed, but sometimes this Article was reserved to the end of the Creed. As first appeareth in that remarkable place of S. Cyprian; Quod si aliquis illud opponit ut dicat eandem Novatianum legem tenere quam Catholica Ecclesia teneat, eodem Symbolo quo et nos baptizare, eundem nosse Deum Patrem, eundem Filium Christum, eundem Spiritum S. ac propter hoc usurpare eum potestatem baptizandi posse, quòd videatur in interrogatione baptismi à nobis non discrepare; sciat quisquis et hoc opponendum putat, primùm non esse unam nobis et Schismaticis Symboli legem, neque eandem interrogationem. Nam cùm dicunt, *Credis remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam per sanctam Ecclesiam?* mentiuntur in interrogatione, cùm non habent Ecclesiam. Tunc deinde voce suâ ipsi confitentur remissionem peccatorum non dari nisi per Sanctam Ecclesiam. *Ep. ad Magn.* Thus Arius and Euzoïus, in the words hereafter cited, place the Church in the conclusion of their Creed. And the author of the second book *De Symb. ad Catech.* placeth the Remission of Sins after the Holy Ghost; Noli injuriam facere ei qui te fecit, ut consequaris ab illo quod in isto S. Symbolo sequitur, *Remissionem omnium peccatorum*: and after he hath spoken of the Resurrection and Life everlasting, proceedeth thus to speak of the Church; Sancta Ecclesia, in qua omnis Sacramenti terminatur autoritas, &c. And the author of the third, Ideo Sacramenti hujus conclusio per Eccl. terminatur quia ipsa est mater fœcunda. And the author of the fourth, Per Sanctam Ecclesiam. Propterea hujus conclusio Sacramenti per S. Ecclesiam terminatur, quoniam si quis absque ea inventus fuerit, alienus erit a numero filiorum;

whereas it consisteth of two distinct parts, the latter is wholly added, and the former partly augmented; the most ancient professing no more than to believe^a *the*

nec habebit Deum Patrem qui Ecclesiam noluerit habere matrem. Thus therefore they disposed the last part of the Creed, Credo in Spiritum S. peccatorum remissionem, carnis resurrectionem et vitam æternam per S. Ecclesiam. And the design of this transposition, was to signify that Remission of Sins and Resurrection to eternal Life, are to be obtained in and by the Church: as the Creed in the first Homily under the name of S. Chrysostom, Credo in Sp. S. Iste Spiritus perducit ad S. Ecclesiam, ipsa est quæ dimittit peccata, promittit carnis resurrectionem, promittit vitam æternam.

^a *Tertull.* Quæ est mater nostra, in quam repromissimus Sanctam Ecclesiam. *Adv. Marcion.* l. v. c. 4. So Ruffinus, Sanctam Ecclesiam. For Catholicam is added by Pamelius. So S. Hieron. contra Lucif. Præterea cū solenne sit in lavacro post Trinitatis Confessionem interrogare, Credis Sanctam Ecclesiam? Credis remissionem peccatorum? Quam Ecclesiam credidisse cum dices? Arianorum? sed non habent: nostram? sed extra hanc baptizatus non potuit eam credere quam nescivit; and S. Aug. *De Fide et Symb.* Credimus et Sanctam Ecclesiam, with this declaration, utique Catholicam. So Maximus Taurin. Chrysol. and Venantius Fortunatus. The author of the first book *De Symb. ad Catech.* Sequitur post Sanctæ Trinitatis commendationem S. Ecclesia. The author of the other three who placeth this Article last of all, Sancta Ecclesia, in qua omnis hujus sacramenti terminatur autoritas, l. 2. and 4. expressly Per Sanctam Ecclesiam, as the words of the Creed, with the Explication before-mentioned. As also the interrogation of the Novatians ending with per Sanctam Ecclesiam, cited before out of S. Cyprian. So likewise of those two Homilies on the Creed which are falsely attributed to S. Chrysost. the first hath Sanctam Ecclesiam after the Belief in the Holy Ghost, the second concludeth the Creed with per Sanctam Ecclesiam. In carnis resurrectione fides, in vita æterna spes, in Sancta Ecclesia charitas. Thus the ancient Saxon Creed set forth by Freherus, Tha halgan gelathing, i. e. the Holy Church; the Greek Creed in Saxon Letters in Sir Robert Cotton's Library, and the old Latin Creed in the Oxford Library. Deus qui in cælis habitat, et condidit ex nihilo ea quæ sunt, et multiplicavit propter Sanctam Ecclesiam suam, irascitur tibi. *Herm.* l. 1. *Visione* 1. Virtute suâ potenti condidit Sanctam Ecclesiam suam. *ib.* Rogabam Dominum ut Revelationes ejus quas mihi ostendit per Sanctam Ecclesiam suam confirmaret. *Vis.* 4. But though it were not in the Roman or Occidental Creeds, yet it was anciently in the Oriental, particularly in that of Hierusalem, and that of Alexandria. In the Creed at Jerusalem it was certainly very ancient; for it is expounded by S. Cyril, Archbishop of that place, εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. And in the Alexandrian it was as ancient; for Alexander, Archbishop of that place, inserts it in his Confession, in his Epistle ad Alexandrum, μίαν καὶ μόνην καθολικὴν τὴν Ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, *Theodoret. Hist.* l. 2. c. 4. And Arius and Euzoïus, in their Confession of Faith given in to Constantine, thus conclude, καὶ εἰς

Holy Church: and the Greeks having added by way of explication or determination, the word *Catholic*, it was at last received into the Latin Creed.

To begin then with the first part of the Article, I shall endeavour so to expound it as to show what is the meaning of the *Church*, which Christ hath propounded to us; how that Church is *holy*, as the Apostle hath assured us; how that holy Church is *catholic*, as the Fathers have taught us. For when I say, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church," I mean that^a there is a Church which is holy, and which is catholic; and I

Καθολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων. Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* l. 1. c. 26. The same is also expressed in both the Creeds, the lesser and the greater, delivered by Epiphanius in Ancorato; the words are repeated in the next observation.

^a Credo sanctam Ecclesiam, I believe there is an holy Church; or Credo in sanctam Ecclesiam, is the same: nor does the Particle *in* added or subtracted make any difference. For although some of the Latin and Greek Fathers press the force of that preposition, as is before observed, though Ruffinus urge it far in this particular. "Ut autem una eademque in Trinitate divinitas doceatur, sicut dictum est in Deo Patre credi, adjectâ præpositione, ita et in Christo Filio ejus, ita et in Spiritu S. memoratur. Sed ut manifestius fiat quod dicimus, ex consequentibus approbabitur. Sequitur namque post hunc sermonem, *Sanctam Ecclesiam, remissionem peccatorum, hujus carnis resurrectionem*. Non dixit, in sanctam Ecclesiam, nec in remissionem peccatorum, nec in carnis resurrectionem, si enim addidisset *in* præpositionem, una eademque vis fuisset cum superioribus. Ne autem (f. Nunc autem) in illis quidem vocabulis, ubi de divinitate fides ordinatur, in Deo Patre dicitur, et in Jesu Christo Filio ejus, et in Spiritu S., in cæteris verò ubi non de divinitate, sed de creaturis ac mysteriis sermo est, *in* præpositio non additur, ut dicatur in sanctam Ecclesiam, sed sanctam Ecclesiam credendam esse, non ut in Deum, sed ut Ecclesiam Deo congregatam; et remissionem peccatorum credendam esse, non in remissionem peccatorum; et resurrectionem carnis, non in resurrectionem carnis. Hac itaque præpositionis syllabâ creator à creaturis secernitur et divina separantur ab humanis." *Ruff. in Symb.* Though I say this expression be thus pressed, yet we are sure that the Fathers did use *ἐν* and *in* for the rest of the Creed as well as for the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. We have already produced the authorities of S. Cyril, Arius and Euzebius, p. 18, 19., and that of Epiphanius in Ancorato. Thus also the Latins, as S. Cyprian, "In æternam pœnam serò credent, qui in vitam æternam credere noluerunt." *Ad Demetrianum*. So Interpres Irenæi, "Quotquot autem timent Deum, et credunt in

understand that Church alone which is both catholic and holy: and being this Holiness and Catholicism are but affections of this Church which I believe, I must first declare what is the nature and notion of the Church; how I am assured of the existence of that Church; and then how it is the subject of these two affections.

For the understanding of the true notion of the *Church*, first we must observe that the nominal definition or derivation of the word is not sufficient to describe the nature of it. If we look upon the old English word now in use, *Church* or *Kirk*^a, it is derived from the Greek, and first signified the House of the Lord, that is, of Christ, and from thence was taken to signify the people of God, meeting in the house of God. The Greek word used by the Apostles to express the Church, signifieth *a calling forth*^b, if we look upon the origination;

adventum Filii ejus," &c. So Chrysol. "In Sanctam Ecclesiam. Quia Ecclesia in Christo, et in Ecclesia Christus est; qui ergo Ecclesiam fatetur, in Ecclesiam se confessus est credidisse." *Serm.* 62. And in the ancient edition of S. Jerome in the place before cited it was read, *Credis in Sanctam Ecclesiam*, and the word *in* was left out by Victorius.

^a Κύριος the Lord, and that properly Christ; from whence Κυριακὸς belonging to the Lord Christ, οἶκος Κυριακὸς, from thence Kyriac, Kyrk, and Church.

^b The word used by the Apostle is Ἐκκλησία from ἐκκαλεῖν evocare. From ἐκκέκλησαι, ἐκκλησις, from ἐκκλησις, ἐκκλησία, of the same notation with the Hebrew קָהָל "Ecclesia quippe ex vocatione appellata est." *S. Aug. Exp. ad Rom.* And though they ordinarily take it primarily to signify convocatio, as S. Aug. "Inter congregationem, unde Synagoga, et convocationem, unde Ecclesia nomen accepit, distat aliquid." *Enar. in Psal.* lxxxi. yet the origination speaks only of evocation without any intimation of congregation or meeting together, as there is in σύγκλητος. From whence arose that definition of Methodius, Ὅτι Ἐκκλησία παρὰ τὸ ἐκκεκλημέναι τὰς ἡδονὰς λέγεσθαι φησιν. Photius Biblioth. Whereas ἐκκαλεῖν is no more here than καλεῖν, ἐκκλησις no more than κλήσις, as κλητεύειν and ἐκκλητεύειν with the Attics were the same: from whence it came to pass that the same preposition hath been twice added in the composition of the same word; from ἐκκαλεῖν ἐκκλησία, from

a congregation of men, or a company assembled, if we consider the use of it. But neither of these doth fully express the nature of the Church, what it is in itself, and as it is propounded to our belief.

Our second observation is, That the Church hath been taken for the whole complex of men and angels worshipping the same God; and again, the angels being not considered, it hath been taken as comprehending all the sons of men believing in God ever since the foundation of the world.^a But being Christ took not upon him the nature of angels, and consequently did not properly purchase them with his blood, or call them by his word; being they are not in the Scriptures mentioned as parts or members of the Church, nor can be imagined to be built upon the Prophets or Apostles;

thence ἐκκλησιάζειν, and because the preposition had no signification in the use of that word, from thence ἐξεκκλησιάζειν, to *convocate*, or *call together*. But yet ἐκκλησία is not the same with ἐκκλησις, not the evocation or the action of calling, but the κλητοὶ or the company called, and that (according to the use) gathered together; from whence ἐκκλησιάζειν is to *gather together*, or *to be gathered*. Hence S. Cyril, Ἐκκλησία δὲ καλεῖται φερωνύμως, διὰ τὸ πάντας ἐκκαλεῖσθαι καὶ ὁμοῦ συνάγειν. *Catech.* 18. So Ammonius, Ἐκκλησίαν ἔλεγον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν σύνοδον τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. To this purpose do the LXX use ἐκκλησιάζειν actively, to convocate or call together an assembly, as ἐκκλησιάζειν λαόν, and ἐκκλησιάζειν συναγωγὴν, and ἐκκλησιάζεσθαι passively, as ἐκκλησιασθῇ πᾶσα ἡ συναγωγὴ, which the Attic writers would have expressed by ἐκκλησίαζε, as Aristophanes, Ἔδοξέ μοι περὶ πρῶτον ὕπνον ἐν τῇ πυκνῇ Ἐκκλησιάζειν πρόβατα συγκαθήμενα. *Vespis.* Where though the Scholiast hath rendered Ἐκκλησιάζειν, εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συνάγειν, whereby the Lexicographers have been deceived; yet the word is even there taken as a neuter, in the passive sense, as generally the Attics use it. Howsoever from the notation of the word we cannot conclude that it signifies a number of men called together into one assembly out of the mass or generality of mankind; first, because the preposition ἐκ hath no such force in the use of the word; secondly, because the collection or coming together is not specified in the origination.

^a "Translatus in Paradisum jam tunc de mundo in Ecclesiam." *Tertul.* l. 2. *adv. Marcion.*

being we are at this time to speak of the proper notion of the *Church*; therefore I shall not look upon it as comprehending any more than the sons of men. Again, being though Christ was “the Lamb slain before the foundation of the world,” and whosoever from the beginning pleased God, were “saved by his blood,” yet because there was a vast difference between the several dispensations of the Law and Gospel; because our Saviour spake expressly of building himself a Church when the Jewish Synagogue was about to fail; because Catholicism, which is here attributed unto the Church, must be understood in opposition to the legal Singularity of the Jewish nation; because the ancient Fathers ^a were generally wont to distinguish between the Synagogue and the Church; therefore I think it necessary to restrain this notion to Christianity.

Thirdly, Therefore I observe that the only way to attain unto the knowledge of the true notion of the *Church*, is to search into the New Testament, and from the places there which mention it, to conclude what is

^a Thus S. Ignatius speaking of Christ, Ἀντὸς ὃν δύρα τοῦ Πατρὸς δι' ἧς εἰσερχόνται Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ Ἰακώβ, καὶ οἱ Προφῆται, οἱ Ἀπόστολοι, καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία. *Ep. ad Philad.* Where ἡ ἐκκλησία is plainly taken for the multitude of Christians who were converted to the faith by the Apostles, and those who were afterwards joined to them in the profession of the same faith. “Sacrificia in populo, sacrificia et in Ecclesia.” *Iren.* l. iv. c. 34. “Disseminaverunt sermonem de Christo Patriarchæ et Prophetæ, demessa est autem Ecclesia, hoc est, fructum percepit.” *Id.* l. iv. c. 25. “Quid Judaicus populus circa beneficia divina perfidus et ingratus? nonne quòd à Deo primum recessit impatientiæ crimen fuit. Impatientia etiam in Ecclesia hæreticos facit.” *S. Cyp. de Bono Patient.* “Quis non agnoscat Christum reliquisse matrem Synagogam Judæorum veteri Testamento carnaliter adhærentem, et adhæsisse uxori suæ, S. Ecclesiæ?” *S. Aug. contra Faust.* l. xii. c. 8. “Mater Sponsi Domini nostri Jesu Christi Synagoga est; proinde nurus ejus Ecclesia.” *Idem, Enar. in Psal.* xliv.

the nature of it. To which purpose it will be necessary to take notice that our Saviour first speaking of it, mentioneth it as that which then was not^a, but afterwards was to be; as when he spake unto the great Apostle, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church^b;" but when he ascended into heaven, and the Holy Ghost came down, when Peter had converted "three thousand souls"^c which were added to the "hundred and twenty" disciples^d, then was there a Church, (and that built upon Peter^e, according to our Saviour's promise,) for after that we read, "The Lord added to the Church daily such as should be saved."^f A Church then our Saviour promised should be built, and by a promise made before his death; after his ascension, and upon the preaching of St. Peter, we find a Church built or constituted, and that of a nature capable of a daily increase. We cannot then take a better occasion to search into the true notion of the Church of Christ, than by looking into the origination and increase thereof, without which it is impossible to have a right conception of it.^g

^a "In quem tingeret — in Ecclesiam? quam nondum Apostoli struxerant." *Tert. de Bapt. c. 16.*

^b Matt. xvi. 18.

^c Acts, ii. 41.

^d Acts, i. 15.

^e "Qualis es evertens atque commutans manifestam Domini intentionem personaliter hoc Petro conferentem. *Super te*, inquit, *ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, et dabo tibi claves*, non Ecclesiæ. Sic enim et exitus docet: in ipso Ecclesia extructa est, id est, per ipsum, ipse clavem imbuat, vides quam. *Viri Israelitæ, auribus mandate quæ dico: Jesum Nazarenum virum à Deo vobis destinatum*, et reliqua." *Tertul. de Pudicitia, c. 21.* So S. Basil, Εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης νοοῦμεν Πέτρον — τὸν διὰ τῆς πίστεως ὑπεροχὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας δεξιόμενον. *Adv. Eunom. 1. 2.* S. Peter took upon himself the building of the Church, that is, to build the Church, which he then performed, when he preached the Gospel by which the Church was first gathered.

^f Acts, ii. 47.

^g Tertullian, mentioning the Acts of the Apostles, addeth these

Now what we are infallibly assured of the first actual existence of a Church of Christ is only this: there were twelve Apostles with the disciples before the descent of the Holy Ghost, and the "number of the names together were an hundred and twenty."^a When the Holy Ghost came after a powerful and miraculous manner upon the blessed Apostles, and St. Peter preached unto the Jews, that they should "repent and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins; they that gladly received his word were baptized, and the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls."^b These, being thus added to the rest, "continued steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and in prayers:" and all these persons so continuing are called the *Church*.^c What this Church was is easily determined, for it was a certain number of men, of which some were Apostles, some the former disciples, others were persons which repented, and believed, and were baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, and continued hearing the word preached, receiving the sacraments administered, joining in the public prayers presented unto God. This was then the Church, which was daily increased by the addition of other persons received into it upon the same conditions, making up "the multitude of them that believed," who "were of one

words: "Quam Scripturam qui non recipiunt, nec Spiritus Sancti esse possunt, qui necdum Spiritum possint agnoscere discentibus missum: sed nec Ecclesiam defendere qui quando et quibus incunabulis institutum est hoc corpus, probare non habent." *De Præscr. Hæret.* c. 22.

^a Acts, i. 15.

^b Acts, ii. 38. 42. 47.

^c "Cum remisissent summi Sacerdotes Petrum et Joannem, et reversi essent ad reliquos Co-apostolos et Discipulos Domini, id est in Ecclesiam." *S. Iren.* l. 3. c. 12.

heart and one soul ^a,” “believers added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women.” ^b

But though the Church was thus begun, and represented unto us as one in the beginning, though that Church which we profess to believe in the Creed be also propounded unto us as one; and so the notion of the Church in the Acts of the Apostles might seem sufficient to express the nature of that Church which we believe; yet because that Church which was one by way of origination ^c, and was afterwards divided into many, the actual members of that one becoming the members of several Churches; and that Church which we believe, is otherwise one by way of complexion, receiving the members of all Churches into it; it will be necessary to consider, how at the first those several Churches were constituted, that we may understand how in this one Church they were all united. To which purpose it will be farther fit to examine the several acceptations of this word, as it is diversely used by the Holy Ghost in the New Testament; that, if it be possible, nothing may escape our search, but that all things may be weighed, before we collect and conclude the full notion of the *Church* from thence.

First then, that the word which signifies the *Church* in the original Greek, is sometimes used in the vulgar sense according as the native Greeks did use the same to express their conventions, without any relation to the worship of God or Christ, and therefore is translated by

^a Acts, iv. 32.

^b Acts, v. 14.

^c “Hæ voces Ecclesiæ ex qua habuit omnis Ecclesia initium.” *S. Iren.* *ibid.*

the word *assembly*, of as great a latitude. Secondly, It is sometimes used in the same notion in which the Greek translators of the Old Testament made use of it, for the assembly of the people of God under the Law^a, and therefore might be most fitly translated the *congregation*, as it is in the Old Testament. Thirdly, It hath been conceived that even in the Scriptures it is sometimes taken for the place in which the members of the Church did meet to perform their solemn and public services unto God^b: and some passages^c there

^a Acts, xix. 32. 39, 40.

^b Acts, viii. 38. Heb. ii. 12.

^c Acts, xi. 26. 1 Cor. xi. 18. 22. From these places S. Augustine did collect that Ἐκκλησία was taken in the Scriptures for the place of meeting, or the house of God, and came so to be frequently used in the language of the Christians in his time: "sicut Ecclesia dicitur locus quo Ecclesia congregatur. Nam Ecclesia homines sunt de quibus dicitur, *Ut exhiberet sibi gloriosam Ecclesiam*. Hanc tamen vocari etiam ipsam domum orationum, idem Apostolus testis est, ubi ait, *Nunquid domos non habetis ad manducandum et bibendum, an Ecclesiam Dei contemnitis?* Et hoc quotidianus loquendi usus obtinuit, ut, ad Ecclesiam prodire, aut ad Ecclesiam confugere, non dicatur, nisi quod ad locum ipsum parietesque prodierit, vel confugerit, quibus Ecclesiæ congregatio continetur." *Quæst. super Levit.* l. 3. c. 57. By these words it is certain that in S. Augustine's time they used the word *Ecclesia*, as we do now the *Church*, for a place set apart for the worship of God; and it is also certain that those of the Greek Church did use Ἐκκλησία in the same sense, as Eusebius speaking of the flourishing times of the Church, before the Persecution under Dioclesian, says the Christians μηδαμῶς ἔτι τοῖς πάλοι οἰκοδομήμασιν ἀρκούμενοι εὐρείας εἰς πλάτος ἀνὰ πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἐκ θεμελίων ἀνίστων ἐκκλησίας. *Hist.* l. 8. c. 1. And S. Chrys. Εἰ γὰρ Ἐκκλησίαν κατασκάψαι χαλεπὸν καὶ ἀνόσιον, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ραδὶ πνευματικῶν, καὶ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἐκκλησίας σεμνότερον. *Hom.* 26. *ad Rom.* But it is not so certain that the Apostle used Ἐκκλησία in that sense, nor is it certain that there were any houses set apart for the worship of God in the Apostles' times, which then could be called by that name. For Isidorus Pelusiota expressly denies it, and distinguishes between Ἐκκλησία and Ἐκκλησιαστήριον, after this manner, Ἄλλο ἐστὶν Ἐκκλησία καὶ ἄλλο Ἐκκλησιαστήριον, ἥ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἀμάρτων ψυχῶν συνέστηκε, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ λίθων καὶ ξύλων οἰκοδομεῖται. And thus he proveth this distinction, Ὡς περ γὰρ ἄλλο ἐστὶ θυσιαστήριον καὶ ἄλλο θυσία, καὶ ἄλλο θυμιατήριον καὶ ἄλλο θυμίαμα, καὶ ἄλλο βουλευτήριον, καὶ ἄλλο βουλή· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ συνεδρεύουσι μὴνύει, ἡ δὲ τοὺς βουλευομένους ἄνδρας, οἷς καὶ ὁ κίνδυνος καὶ ἡ σωτηρία ἀνήκει, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐκκλησιαστηρίου καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Then he concludes, that in the Apostles'

are which seem to speak no less, but yet are not so certainly to be understood of the place, but that they may as well be spoken of the people congregated in a certain place. Besides these few different acceptations, the *Church* in the language of the New Testament doth always signify a company of persons professing the Christian Faith, but not always in the same latitude. Sometimes it admitteth of distinction and plurality; sometimes it reduceth all into conjunction and unity. Sometimes the Churches of God are diversified as many; sometimes, as many as they are, they are all comprehended in one.

For first in general there are often mentioned *the Churches* by way of plurality, “the Churches of God,” “the Churches of the Gentiles,” the Churches of the Saints.”^a In particular we find a few believers gathered together in the house of one single person called a *Church*^b, as the Church in the house of Priscilla and Aquila, the Church in the house of Nymphas, the Church in the house of Philemon; which Churches were nothing else but the believing and baptized persons of each family, with such as they admitted and received into their house to join in the worship of the same God.

times there was no Ἐκκλησιαστήρια, Ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν Ἀποστόλων ὅτε ἡ Ἐκκλησία ἐκόμα μὲν χαρίσμασι πνευματικοῖς, ἔβρυε δὲ πολιτεία, λαμπρᾷ Ἐκκλησιαστήρια οὐκ ἦν. *Epist.* 246. 1. 2.

^a Acts, xvi. 5. 1 Cor. xiv. 34. 2 Cor. viii. 19. 23, 24. xi. 8. 28. xii. 13. Rev. xxii. 16. 1 Thess. i. 4. 1 Cor. xi. 16. Rom. xvi. 4. 1 Cor. xiv. 23. Thus Origen for the most part speaks of the Church in the plural number αἱ ἐκκλησίαι.

^b Rom. xvi. 5. 1 Cor. xvi. 19. Col. iv. 15. Philem. ii. S. Chrys. observeth of Priscilla and Aquila, Οὕτω γὰρ ἦσαν εὐδόκιμοι ὥς καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκκλησίαν ποιῆσαι, διὰ τε τοῦ πάντας ποιῆσαι πιστοὺς, καὶ διὰ τοῦ τοῖς ξένοις αὐτὴν ἀνοῖξαι πᾶσι. *Chrysost. Homil.* 30. in *Epist. ad Romanos*

Again, when the Scripture speaketh of any country where the Gospel had been preached, it nameth always by way of plurality the Churches of that country, as the Churches of Judæa, of Samaria and Galilee, the Churches of Syria and of Cilicia, the Churches of Galatia, the Churches of Asia, the Churches of Macedonia.^a But notwithstanding there were several such Churches or congregations of believers in great and populous cities, yet the Scriptures always speak of such congregations in the notion of one Church: as when St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians, “Let your women keep silence in the Churches^b,” yet the dedication of his Epistle is, “Unto the Church of God which is at Corinth.” So we read not of the Churches, but the Church at Jerusalem^c, the Church at Antioch, the Church at Cæsarea, the Church at Ephesus, the Church of the Thessalonians, the Church of Laodicea, the Church of Smyrna, the Church of Pergamus, the Church of Thyatira, the Church of Sardis, the Church of Philadelphia. From whence it appeareth that a collection of several congregations, every one of which is in some sense a Church, and may be called so, is properly one Church by virtue of the subordination of them all in one government under one Ruler. For thus in those great

^a Gal. i. 22. Acts, ix. 31. 1 Cor. xvi. 1. 19. Rev. i. 11. 1 Thess. ii. 14. 2 Cor. viii. 1. Gal. i. 2.

^b 1 Cor. xiv. 34. 1 Cor. i. 2.

^c Acts, viii. 1. 21, 22. xiii. 1. xv. 3. xviii. 22. xx. 17. 2 Thess. i. 15. Col. iv. 16. Rev. ii. 8. 12. 18. iii. 1. 7. 14. And thus after they grew yet far more numerous in the time of Clemens bishop of Rome. ‘Ἡ Ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἡ παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην, τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ παροικοῦσῃ Κόρινθον, *Ep.* 1. So after him Ignatius. Τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἀξιωμακαρίστῃ τῇ οὐσῇ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας, and Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀγίᾳ τῇ οὐσῇ ἐν Τράλλεσιν. And so the rest.

and populous cities where Christians were very numerous, not only those of several Churches within the cities, but all those also in the adjacent parts, were united under the care and inspection of one Bishop, and therefore was accounted one Church; the number of the Churches following the number of the angels, that is, the rulers of them, as is evident in the Revelation.

Now as several Churches are reduced to the denomination of one Church, in relation to the single Governor of those many Churches; so all the Churches of all cities and all nations in the world may be reduced to the same single denomination in relation to one supreme Governor of them all, and that one Governor is Christ the Bishop of our souls. Wherefore the Apostle, speaking of that in which all Churches do agree, comprehendeth them all under the same appellation of one Church; and therefore often by the name of Church^a are understood all Christians whatsoever belonging to any of the Churches dispersed through the distant and divided parts of the world. For the single persons professing faith in Christ are members of the particular Churches in which they live, and all those particular Churches are members of the general and universal Church which is one by unity and aggregation; and this is the Church in the Creed which we believe, and which is in other Creeds expressly termed *One*, “I believe in one Holy Catholic Church.”^b

^a Matt. xvi. 18. 1 Cor. xii. 28. xv. 9. Gal. i. 13. Ephes. i. 22. iii. 10. 21. v. 23. 25. 27. 29. 32. Phil. iii. 6. Col. i. 18. 24. Heb. xii. 23. Of this, as of one Church, Celsus calls the Christians, τοὺς ἀπὸ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας. *Apud Orig.* l. 5.

^b So the Creeds of Epiphanius in Ancorato, πιστεύομεν εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν

It will therefore be farther necessary for the understanding of the nature of the Church which is thus one, to consider in what that unity doth consist. And being it is an aggregation not only of many persons, but also of many congregations, the unity thereof must consist in some agreement of them all, and adhesion to something which is one. If then we reflect upon the first Church again, which we found constituted in the Acts, and to which all other since have been in a manner added and conjoined, we may collect from their union and agreement how all other Churches are united and agree. Now they were described to be believing and baptized persons, converted to the faith by St. Peter, “continuing steadfastly in the Apostles’ doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and prayers.” These, then, were all built upon the same Rock, all professed the same faith, all received the same sacraments, all performed the same devotions, and thereby were all reputed members of the same Church. To this Church were added daily such as should be saved, who became members of the same Church by being built upon the same foundation, by adhering to the same doctrine, by receiving the same sacraments, by performing the same devotions.^a

From whence it appeareth that the first unity of the Church considered in itself, besides that of the head,

Καθολικὴν καὶ Ἀποστολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. So the Jerusalem Creed in S. Cyril. Thus the Nicene, with the additions of the Council of Constantinople, *μὴν ἁγίαν Καθολικὴν καὶ Ἀποστολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν*. Thus also the Alexandrian, as appeareth by those already quoted of Alexander, Arius, and Euzoïus.

^a Acts, ii. 41, 42, 44, 47.

which is one Christ, and the life communicated from that head, which is one Spirit, relieth upon the original of it, which is one; even as an house built upon one foundation, though consisting of many rooms and every room of many stones, is not yet many, but one house. Now there is but one foundation upon which the Church is built, and that is Christ: “for other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.”^a And though the Apostles and the Prophets be also termed the foundation, yet even then the unity is preserved, because as they are stones in the foundation, so are they united by one corner stone; whereby it comes to pass that such persons as are of the Church, being “fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God, are built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone, in whom all the building fitly framed together, groweth unto a holy temple in the Lord.”^b This *stone* was laid “in Zion for a foundation, a tried stone, a precious corner-stone, a sure foundation^c :” there was the first Church built, and whosoever have been or ever shall be converted to the true Christian faith, are and shall be added to that Church, and laid upon the same foundation, which is the unity of origination.^d Our Saviour gave the same power to all the Apostles, which was to found the Church; but he gave that power to Peter, to show the unity of the same Church.

^a 1 Cor. iii. 11. ^b Ephes. ii. 19, 20, 21. ^c Isa. xxviii. 16.

^d Tertullian speaking of the Apostles, “Ecclesias apud unamquamque civitatem condiderunt, à quibus traducem fidei et semina doctrinæ cæteræ exinde Ecclesiæ mutuatae sunt, et quotidie mutantur, ut Ecclesiæ fiant: ac per hoc et ipsæ Apostolicæ deputantur, ut soboles Apostolicarum Eccle-

Secondly, The Church is therefore one, though the members be many, because they all agree in one faith. There is "one Lord, and one faith^a," and that "faith once delivered to the saints^b," which whosoever shall receive, embrace, and profess, must necessarily be accounted one in reference to that profession. For if a company of believers become a Church by believing, they must also become one Church by believing one truth. If they be one in respect of the foundation, which is ultimately one; if we look upon Christ, which

siarum. Omne genus ad originem suam censeatur necesse est. Itaque tot et tantæ Ecclesiæ, una est illa ab Apostolis prima, ex qua omnes. Sic omnes primæ et Apostolicæ, dum unâ omnes, probant unitatem: dum est illis communicatio pacis, et appellatio fraternitatis, et contesseratio hospitalitatis: quæ jura non alia ratio regit quàm ejusdem Sacramenti una traditio." *De Præscrip. Hæret. c. 20.* This is the *Unitas originis* which S. Cyprian so much insists upon, Ecclesia quoque una est, quæ in multitudinem latius incremento fecunditatis extenditur; quomodo Solis multi radii, sed lumen unum; et rami arboris multi, sed robur unum tenaci radice fundatum: Et cum de fonte uno rivi plurimi defluunt, numerositas licet diffusa videatur exundantis copię largitate, unitas tamen servatur in origine," &c. *S. Cyp. de Unitate Eccl.* "Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum. *Ego tibi dico, inquit, quia tu es Petrus, et super hanc Petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam,* &c. Et iterum eidem post resurrectionem suam dicit, *Pasce oves meas.* Et quamvis Apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat, et dicat, *Sicut misit me Pater, et ego mitto vos,* &c. tamen ut unitatem manifestaret, unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem suâ autoritate disposuit. Hoc erant utique et cæteri Apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi, et honoris et potestatis, sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur, ut Ecclesia una monstretur." *Ibid.* 'Ενὸς ὄντος τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἐνὸς τοῦ Κυρίου, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ ἅκρως ἑνὸν κατὰ τὴν μόνωσιν ἐπαινεῖται, μίσημα ὃν ἀρχῆς τῆς μιᾶς. *Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 7.* This is very much to be observed, because that place of S. Cyprian is produced by the *Romanists* to prove the necessity of one head of the Church upon earth, and to show that the Bishop of Rome is that one head by virtue of his succession to S. Peter; whereas S. Cyprian speaketh nothing of any such one head, nor of any such succession, but only of the origination of the Church, which was so disposed by Christ, that the unity might be expressed. For whereas all the rest of the Apostles had equal power and honour with S. Peter; yet Christ did particularly give that power to S. Peter, to show the unity of the Church which he intended to build upon the foundation of the Apostles.

^a Ephes. iv. 5.

^b Jude, 3.

is mediately one; if we look upon the Apostles united in one corner-stone; if those which believe be therefore said to be built upon the foundation of the Apostles, because they believe the doctrine which the Apostles preached, and the Apostles be therefore said to be of the same foundation, and united to the corner-stone, because they all taught the same doctrine which they received from Christ; then they which believe the same doctrine delivered by Christ to all the Apostles, delivered by all the Apostles to believers, being all professors of the same faith, must be members of the same Church. And this is the unity of faith.^a

Thirdly, Many persons and Churches, howsoever distinguished by time or place, are considered as one Church, because they acknowledge and receive the same sacraments, the signs and badges of the people of God. When the Apostles were sent to found and build the Church, they received this commission, “Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and

^a Of this doth Irenæus speak, delivering the sum or brief abstract of the material object of Faith, *Τὸ κήρυγμα παρεληφνῖα, καὶ ταύτην τὴν πίστιν ἡ Ἐκκλησία καίπερ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διεσπαρμένη ἐπιμελῶς φυλάσσει, ὡς ἓνα οἶκον οἰκοῦσα, καὶ ὁμοίως πιστεύει τοῦτοις, ὡς μίαν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχουσα καρδίαν, καὶ συμφώνως ταῦτα κηρύσσει, καὶ διδάσκει καὶ παραδίδωσιν ὡς ἐν στόμα κεκτημένη.* *Advers. Hær.* l. 1. Κατὰ τε οὖν ὑπόστασιν, κατὰ τε ἐπίνοιαν, κατὰ τε ἀρχὴν, κατὰ τε ἐξοχὴν μόνην εἶναι φαιμέν τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ Καθολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν εἰς ἐνόητα πίστεως μιᾶς τῆς κατὰ τὰς οἰκείας διαθήκας, μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην τὴν μίαν διαφόροις τοῖς χρόνοις, ἐνδὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ βουλευματι, δι' ἐνδὸς τοῦ Κυρίου συνάγουσαν τοὺς ἤδη κατατεταγμένους, οὓς προώρισεν ὁ Θεός, δικαίους ἔσομένους πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου ἐγνωκώς. *Clem. Alex. Stromat.* l. 7. “This unity of faith followeth the unity of origination, because the true faith is the true foundation.” *Siqua est Ecclesia quæ fidem respuat, nec Apostolicæ prædicationis fundamenta possideat, deserenda est.* *Petra tua Christus est.*” *S. Amb. in Luc.*, lib. 2. cap. 9. Ἡ γὰρ συνέχουσα τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, ὡς φησὶν ὁ Ποιμὴν, ἀρετὴ ἡ πίστις ἐστίν. *Clem. Alex. Stromat.* l. 2. S. Jerom on those words of the Psalm xxiv. 6. “Hæc est generatio quærentium Dominum, hath this observation: Superiùs singulariter dixit, Hic accipiet benedictionem; modo pluraliter, quia Ecclesia ex pluribus personis congregatur et tamen una dicitur propter unitatem fidei.”

of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.”^a Now as there is but “one Lord,” and “one faith,” so also there is but “one baptism^b ;” and consequently they which are admitted to it, in receiving it are one. Again, at the institution of the Lord’s Supper Christ commanded, saying, “Eat ye all of this, drink ye all of this ;” and all by communicating of one, become as to that communication one. “For we being many are one bread, and one body ; for we are all partakers of that one bread.”^c As therefore the Israelites “were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea, and did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink^d,” and thereby appeared to be the one people of God ; so all believing persons, and all Churches congregated in the name of Christ, washed in the same laver of regeneration, eating of the same bread, and drinking of the same cup, are united in the same cognizance, and so known to be the same Church. And this is the unity of the sacraments.

Fourthly, Whosoever belongeth to any Church is some way called ; and all which are so, are “called in one hope of their calling^e :” the same reward of eternal life is promised unto every person, and we all “through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness by faith.”^f They therefore which depend upon the same God, and worship him all for the same end, “the hope of eternal life, which God that cannot lie, promised before the world began,” having all the same expectation, may well be reputed the same Church. And this is the unity of hope.

^a Mat. xxviii. 19.

^d 1 Cor. x. 2, 3, 4.

^b Ephes. iv. 4.

^e Ephes. iv. 4.

^c 1 Cor. x. 17.

^f Gal. v. 5.

Fifthly, They which are all of one mind, whatsoever the number of their persons be, they are in reference to that mind but one; as all the members, howsoever different, yet being animated by one soul, become one Body. Charity is of a fastening and uniting nature; nor can we call those many, who “endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.”^a “By this,” said our Saviour, “shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.”^b And this is the unity of charity.^c

Lastly, All the Churches of God are united into one by the unity of discipline and government, by virtue whereof the same Christ ruleth in them all. For they have all the same pastoral guides appointed, authorised, sanctified, and set apart by the appointment of God, by the direction of the Spirit, to direct and lead the people of God in the same way of eternal salvation: as therefore there is no Church^d where there is no order, no ministry; so where the same order and ministry is, there is the same Church. And this is the unity of regimen and discipline.^e

^a Ephes. iv. 3.

^b John, xiii. 35.

^c “Deus unus est, et Christus unus, et una Ecclesia ejus, et fides una, et plebs in solidam corporis unitatem concordie glutine copulata.” *S. Cyp. de Unitate Eccles.*

^d “Ecclesia non est quæ non habet Sacerdotes.” *S. Hier. adv. Lucifer.* Πάντες ἐντρεπέσθωσαν τοὺς Διακόνους ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, καὶ τὸν Ἐπίσκοπον ὡς Πατέρα, τοὺς δὲ Πρεσβυτέρους ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ, καὶ ὡς σύνδεσμον Ἀποστόλων. χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται. *Ignat. ad Trall.* Τό γε μὲν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὄνομα τὴν τῶν εἰς Χριστὸν πιστευσάντων ὑφαίνει πληθὺν, ἱερουργούς τε καὶ λαοὺς, ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα κατεξευγμένους. *S. Cyril. ad Is. cap. 45.*, ubi interpretes ὑφαίνει, malè transtulit *declaret*, quod est, ὑποφαίνει; cùm reddere opportuerit, *connectit*, aut *conterxit*.”

^e “Episcopatus unus est, cujus à singulis in solidum pars tenetur: Ecclesia quoque una est quæ in multitudinem latius incremento fecunditatis extenditur.” *S. Cyp. ibidem.* So he joins these two together, “Cum sit à

By these means, and for these reasons^a, millions of persons and multitudes of congregations are united into one body and become one Church. And thus under the name of *Church* expressed in this Article, is understood a body, or collection of human persons professing faith in Christ, gathered together in several places of the world for the worship of the same God, and united into the same corporation by the means aforesaid. And this I conceive sufficient to declare the true notion of the Church as such which is here the object of our faith. It remaineth therefore that we next consider the existence of the Church, which is acknowledged in the act of faith applied to this object: for when I profess and say, "I believe a Church," it is not only an acknowledgment of a Church which hath been, or of a Church which shall be, but also of that which is. When I say, "I believe in Christ dead," I acknowledge that death which once was, and now is not: for Christ once died, but now is not dead: when I say, "I believe the resurrection of the body," I acknowledge that which never yet was, and is not now, but shall hereafter be. Thus the act of faith is applicated to the object according to the nature of it: to what is already past, as past; to what is to come, as still to come; to that which is present, as it is still present. Now that which

Christo una Ecclesia per totum mundum in multa membra divisa, item Episcopatus unus Episcoporum multorum concordi numerositate diffusus." *Ep. ad Antonianum*.

^a These are all expressed by Tertullian, "Una nobis et illis fides, unus Deus, idem Christus, eadem spes, eadem lavacri sacramenta, semel dixerim, una Ecclesia sumus." *De Virg. veland.* c. 2. "Corpus sumus de consensientia religionis, et disciplinæ unitate, et spei fœdere." *Apolog.* c. 39.

was then past, when the Creed was made, must necessarily be always past, and so believed for ever; that which shall never come to pass until the end of the world, when this public profession of faith shall cease, that must for ever be believed as still to come. But that which was when the Creed began, and was to continue till the Creed shall end, is proposed to our belief in every age as being; and thus ever since the first Church was constituted, the Church itself, as being, was the object of the faith of the Church believing.

The existence therefore of the Church of Christ (as that Church before is understood by us) is the continuation of it in an actual being, from the first collection in the Apostles' times unto the consummation of all things. And therefore to make good this explication of the Article, it will be necessary to prove that the Church which our Saviour founded and the Apostles gathered, was to receive a constant and perpetual accession, and by a successive augmentation be uninterruptedly continued in an actual existence of believing persons and congregations in all ages unto the end of the world.

Now this indeed is a proper object of faith, because it is grounded only upon the promise of God: there can be no other assurance of the perpetuity of this Church, but what we have from him that built it. The Church is not of such a nature as would necessarily, once begun, preserve itself for ever. Many thousand persons have fallen totally and finally from the faith professed, and so apostatised from the Church. Many particular Churches have been wholly lost, many "candlesticks" have been removed; neither is there any particular Church which hath any power to continue itself more

or longer than others; and consequently, if all particulars be defectible, the universal Church must also be subject of itself unto the same defectibility.

But though the providence of God doth suffer many particular Churches to cease, yet the promise of the same God will never permit that all of them at once shall perish. When Christ spake first particularly to St. Peter, he sealed his speech with a powerful promise of perpetuity, saying, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."^a When he spake generally to all the rest of the Apostles to the same purpose, "Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost^b;" he added a promise to the same effect: "And, lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world." The first of these promises assureth us of the continuance of the Church, because it is built upon a rock; for our Saviour had expressed this before: "Whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock; and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew and beat upon that house, and it fell not, for it was founded upon a rock."^c The Church of Christ is the house of Christ; for he hath "builded the house," and is "as a Son over his own house, whose house are we^d;" and as "a wise man," he hath built his house upon a rock, and what is so built shall not fall. The latter^e of these promises giveth not only an assurance

^a Mat. xvi. 18.

^b Mat. xxviii. 19, 20.

^c Mat. vii. 24, 25.

^d Heb. iii. 3. 6.

^e "Non deserit Ecclesiam suam Divina protectio, dicente Domino, Ecce ego vobiscum omnibus diebus," &c. *Leo Epis.* 31. *S. Aug.* upon

of the continuance of the Church, but also the cause of that continuance, which is the presence of Christ. "Where two or three are gathered together in the name of Christ," there he is in the midst of them, and thereby they become a Church; for they are as a builded house, and the Son within that house. Wherefore being Christ doth promise his presence unto the Church, even unto the end of the world, he doth thereby assure us of the existence of the Church, until that time, of which his presence is the cause. Indeed, this is "the city of the Lord of hosts, the city of our God: God will establish it for ever^a," as the great Prophet of the Church hath said.

Upon the certainty of this truth, the existence of the Church hath been propounded as an object of our faith in every age of Christianity; and so it shall be still unto the end of the world. For those which are believers are the Church; and therefore if they do believe, they must believe there is a Church. And thus having shewn

those words of the Psal. ci. "*Exiguitatem dierum meorum annuncia mihi,*" maketh the Church to speak these words. *Quid est quod nescio qui recedentes à me murmurant contra me? Quid est quod perdit me periisse contendunt? Certè enim hoc dicunt, Quia fui et non sum. Annuncia mihi exiguitatem dierum meorum.* Non à te quæro illos dies æternos; illi sine fine sunt, ubi ero, non ipsos quæro, temporales quæro, temporales dies mihi annuncia. *Exiguitatem dierum meorum non æternitatem dierum meorum annuncia mihi.* Quamdiu ero in isto sæculo, annuncia mihi, propter illos qui dicunt, Fuit et jam non est: propter illos qui dicunt, Impletæ sunt Scripturæ, crediderunt omnes gentes, sed apostatavit, et periit Ecclesia de omnibus gentibus: Quid est hoc, *Exiguitatem dierum meorum annuncia mihi?* Et annuntiavit, nec vacua fuit vox ista. Quis annuntiavit mihi nisi ipsa via? Quomodo annuntiavit? *Ecce ego vobiscum sum usque ad consummationem sæculi.*" *Concione secundâ in Psal. ci.*

^a Psal. xlviii. 8. "Fortè ista Civitas, quæ mundum tenuit, aliquando evertetur. Absit. *Deus fundavit eam in æternum.* Si ergo Deus fundavit eam in æternum, quid times ne cadat firmamentum?" *S. Aug. ad locum.*

in what the nature of the Church consisteth, and proved that a Church of that nature is of perpetual and indefectible existence by virtue of the promises of Christ; I have done all which can be necessary for the explication of this part of the Article, "I believe the Church."

After the consideration of that which is the subject in this Article, followeth the explication of the affections thereof; which are two, Sanctity and Universality; the one attributed unto it by the Apostles, the other by the Fathers of the Church: by the first the Church is denominated *Holy*, by the second *Catholick*. Now the Church which we have described, may be called holy in several respects, and for several reasons: First, In reference to the vocation by which all the members thereof are called and separated from the rest of the world to God; which separation in the language of the Scriptures is a sanctification; and so the calling being holy (for "God hath called us with an holy calling^a"), the body which is separated and congregated thereby, may well be termed *holy*. Secondly, In relation to the offices appointed, and the powers exercised in the Church, which by their institution and operation are holy; that Church for which they were appointed, and in which they are exercised, may be called *holy*. Thirdly, Because whosoever is called to profess faith in Christ, is thereby engaged to holiness of life, according to the words of the Apostle, "Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity^b:" for those namers of the name, or named by the name of Christ are such as called on his name; and that was the description of the

^a 2 Tim. i. 9.

^b 2 Tim. ii. 19.

Church: as when Saul did persecute the Church, it is said he had “authority from the chief priests to bind all that called upon the name of Christ;” and when he “preached Christ in the synagogues, all that heard him said, Is not this he who destroyed them which called on this name in Jerusalem?”^a Being then all within the Church are by their profession obliged to such holiness of life, in respect to this obligation, the whole Church may be termed *holy*. Fourthly, In regard the end of constituting a Church in God, was for the purchasing a holy and a precious people; and the great design thereof was for the begetting and increasing holiness, that as God is originally holy in himself, so he might communicate his sanctity to the sons of men, whom he intended to bring unto the fruition of himself, unto which, without a previous sanctification, they can never approach, because without holiness no man shall ever see God.

For these four reasons, the whole Church of God, as it containeth in it all the persons which were called to the profession of the faith of Christ, or were baptized in his name, may well be termed and believed holy. But the apostle hath delivered another kind of holiness, which cannot belong unto the Church taken in so great a latitude. “For,” saith he, “Christ loved the Church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it by the washing of water by the word, that he might present it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot

^a Acts ix. 14. 21. Vid. 1 Cor. i. 2. Ὅτι γὰρ τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἁγίων τὸ ἐξ ὁρθῆς πίστεως καὶ πολιτείας ἀρίστης συγκεκροτημένων Ἐκκλησία ἐστὶ, δῆλόν ἐστι τοῖς σοφίας γενεσαμένοις. Isid. Pelus. Epist. 246. l. 2.

or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it should be holy and without blemish.”^a Now though it may be conceived that Christ did love the whole Church as it did any way contain all such as ever called upon his name, and did give himself for all of them, yet we cannot imagine that the whole body of all men could ever be so holy, as to be without spot, wrinkle, blemish, or any such thing. It will be therefore necessary, within the great complex body of the universal Church, to find that Church to which this absolute holiness doth belong: and to this purpose it will be fit to consider both the difference of the persons contained in the Church, as it hath been hitherto described, while they continue in this life, and their different conditions after death; whereby we shall at last discover in what persons this holiness is inherent really, in what condition it is inherent perfectly, and consequently in what other sense it may be truly and properly affirmed that the Church is holy.

Where first we must observe that the Church, as it embraceth all the professors of the true faith of Christ, containeth in it not only such as do truly believe and are obedient to the word, but those also which are hypocrites, and profane. Many profess the faith, which have no true belief: many have some kind of faith, which live with no correspondence to the Gospel preached. Within therefore the notion of the Church are comprehended good and bad, being both externally called, and both professing the same faith. For “the kingdom of heaven is like unto a field” in which “wheat and tares

^a Ephes. v. 25, 26, 27.

grow together unto the harvest; like unto a net that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind^a;” like unto a “floor” in which is laid up “wheat and chaff^b;” like unto “a marriage feast,” in which some have on the “wedding-garment, and some not.”^c This is that ark of Noah in which were preserved beasts clean and unclean. This is that “great house” in which there are not only “vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth, and some to honour, and some to dishonour.”^d There are “many called,” of all which the Church consisteth; but there are “few chosen” of those which are called, and thereby within the Church. I conclude, therefore, as the ancient Catholics did against the Donatists^e, that

^a Mat. xiii. 24. 30. 47.

^b Mat. iii. 12. “Firmissimè tene et nullatenus dubites aream Dei esse Ecclesiam Catholicam, et intra eam usque in finem seculi frumento mixtas paleas contineri, hoc est, bonis malos sacramentorum communione misceri.” *Fulgent. ad Petrum*, c. 43.

^c Mat. xxii. 10.

^d 2 Tim. ii. 20. S. Jerom joins these two together. “Arca Noë Ecclesiæ typus: ut in illa omnium animalium genera, ita et in hac universarum et gentium et morum homines sunt, ut ibi pardus et hædi, lupus et agni, ita et hic iusti et peccatores, id est, vasa aurea et argentea cum ligneis et fictilibus commorantur.” *Dial. contra Luciferianos*.

^e The opinion of the Donatists, confuted by the Catholics, is to be seen in S. Augustine’s Book, intituled, *Breviculus Collationis*. Upon which reflecting, in his book *Post Collationem*, he observes how they were forced by the testimony of those Scriptures which we have produced, to acknowledge that there were mingled with the good such as were occultly bad. “Ecce etiam ipsi veritate Evangelicâ non aliud coacti sunt confiteri, qui malos occultos nunc ei permixtos esse, dixerunt;” as the good and bad fish are taken in the same net, because it could not discern the bad from the good. And from thence he enforceth from their acknowledgement, that those which are apparently evil, are contained in the same Church: “Si enim Dominus propterea retibus bonos et malos pisces pariter congregantibus Ecclesiam comparavit, quia malos in Ecclesia non manifestos, sed latentes intelligi voluit, quos ita nesciunt sacerdotes, quemadmodum sub fluctibus quid ceperint retia nesciunt Piscatores. Propterea ergo et areæ comparata est, ut etiam manifesti mali bonis in ea permixti prænunciarentur futuri. Neque enim palca quæ in area est permixta frumentis, etiam ipsa sub fructibus latet, quæ sic omnium oculis est conspicua, ut potius occulta sint in ea frumenta, cum sit ipsa manifesta,” *Lib. Post Collat.* c. 7, 8, § 12, 13.

within the Church, in the public profession and external communion thereof, are contained persons truly good and sanctified, and hereafter to be saved; and together with them other persons void of all saving grace, and hereafter to be damned: and that Church containing these of both kinds may well be called *holy*; as St. Matthew called Jerusalem *the holy city*, even at that time when our Saviour did but begin to preach, when we know there was in that city a general corruption in manners and worship.

Of these promiscuously contained in the Church, such as are void of all saving grace while they live, and communicate with the rest of the Church, and when they pass out of this life die in their sins, and remain under the eternal wrath of God, as they were not in their persons holy while they lived, so are they no way of the Church after their death, neither as members of it nor as contained in it. Through their own demerit they fall short of the glory unto which they were called, and being by death separated from the external communion of the Church, and having no true internal communion with the members and the head thereof, are totally and finally cut off from the Church of Christ. On the contrary, such as are efficaciously called, justified, and sanctified, while they live are truly holy, and when they die are perfectly holy; nor are they by their death separated from the Church, but remain united still by virtue of that internal union by which they were before conjoined both to the members and the head. As therefore the Church is truly holy, not only by an holiness of institution, but also by a personal sanctity in reference to

these saints while they live, so is it also perfectly holy in relation to the same saints glorified in heaven. And at the end of the world, when all the wicked shall be turned into hell, and, consequently, all cut off from the communion of the Church; when the members of the Church remaining, being perfectly sanctified, shall be eternally glorified, then shall the whole Church be truly and perfectly holy.

Then shall that be completely fulfilled, that Christ shall “present unto himself a glorious Church,” which shall be “holy and without blemish.”^a Not that there are two Churches of Christ: one in which good and bad are mingled together, another in which there are good alone; one in which the saints are imperfectly holy, another in which they are perfectly such; but one and the same Church in relation to different times^b admitteth, or not admitteth, the permixtion of the wicked or the imperfection of the godly. To conclude: the Church of God is universally holy in respect of all, by institutions and administrations of sanctity; the same Church is really holy in this world, in relation to all godly persons contained in it, by a real infused sanctity; the same is farther, yet, at the same time, perfectly holy in reference

^a Ephes. ii. 27.

^b This was it which the Catholics answered to the Donatists, objecting that they made two distinct Churches. “De duabus etiam Ecclesiis calumniam eorum Catholici refutârunt, identidem expressiùs ostendentes quid dixerint, id est, non eam Ecclesiam quæ nunc habet permixtos malos alienam se dixisse à regno Dei, ubi non erunt mali commixti, sed eandem ipsam unam et sanctam Ecclesiam nunc esse aliter, tunc autem aliter futuram, nunc habere malos mixtos, tunc non habituram, sicut nunc mortalem quòd ex mortalibus constaret hominibus, tunc autem immortalem, quòd in ea nullus esset vel corpore moriturus, sicut non ideo duo Christi, quia prior mortuus postea non moriturus.” *S. August. Collat. 3. diæi.*

to the saints departed and admitted to the presence of God; and the same Church shall hereafter be most completely holy in the world to come, when all the members actually belonging to it shall be at once perfected in holiness and completed in happiness. And thus I conceive the affection of the sanctity sufficiently explicated.

The next affection of the Church is that of universality, — *I believe the Holy Catholic Church*. Now the word Catholic, as it is not read in the Scriptures, so was it not anciently in the Creed (as we have already shown), but being inserted by the Church, must necessarily be interpreted by the sense which the most ancient Fathers had of it, and that sense must be confirmed so far as it is consentient with the Scriptures. To grant, then, that the word was not used by the Apostles^a, we must also acknowledge that it was most anciently in use among the primitive Fathers, and that as to several intents. For, first, they called the epistles of St. James, St. Peter, St. John, St. Jude, the Catholic epistles^b, be-

^a It was the ordinary objection of the schismatical Novatians, that the very name of Catholics was never used by the Apostles, and the answer to it by the Catholics was by way of concession; “Sed sub Apostolis, inquires, nemo Catholicus vocabatur; Esto, sic fuerit, vel illud indulge,” &c. *Pacianus ad Sympronianum*, epist. 1.

^b So S. Jerom of S. James, “Unam tantum scripsit Epistolam quæ de septem Catholicis est:” of S. Peter, “Scripsit duas Epistolas quæ Catholicæ nominantur:” of S. Jude, “Judas frater Jacobi parvam quidem, quæ de septem Catholicis est, Epistolam reliquit.” This, therefore, was the common title of these Epistles in S. Jerom’s time among the Latins, and before among the Greeks, as appeareth by Eusebius: *Τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰάκωβον, οὗ ἡ πρώτη τῶν ὀνομαζομένων Καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν εἶναι λέγεται, ἰστέον δὲ ὥς νοθεύεται μὲν οὐ πολλοὶ γοῦν τῶν παλαιῶν, αὐτῆς ἐμνημόνευσαν, ὥς οὐδὲ τῆς λεγομένης Ἰούδα, μᾶς καὶ αὐτῆς οὐσης τῶν ἑπτὰ λεγομένων Καθολικῶν.* *Hist.* l. 2. c. 23. The same was in use before the time of Eusebius, as appeareth by Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria: *Ὁ δὲ εὐαγγελιστὴς οὐδὲ τῆς Καθολικῆς ἐπιστολῆς προέγραψεν ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα.* *Euseb. Hist.* l. 7. c. 25. And before him, as appeareth by Origen: *Δεύτερον δὲ τὸ κατὰ*

cause when the epistles written by St. Paul were directed to particular churches congregated in particular cities, these were either sent to the churches dispersed through a great part of the world, or directed to the whole Church of God upon the face of the whole earth. Again: we observe the Fathers to use the word Catholic for nothing else but general or universal, in the ordinary or vulgar sense; as the Catholic resurrection is the resurrection of all men, the Catholic opinion^a the opinion of all men. Sometimes it was used as a word of state, signifying an officer which collected the emperor's revenue in several provinces, united into one diocese; who, because there were particular officers belonging to the particular provinces, and all under him, was there-

Μάρκον, ὡς Πέτρος ὑφηγήσατο αὐτῷ ποιήσαντα, ὃν καὶ υἷδν ἐν τῇ Καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ διὰ τούτων ὠμολόγησε. *Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* l. 6. c. 25. Thus anciently *Epistola Catholica* was used for a general epistle: Καθολικαὶ δὲ ἐκλήθησαν, ἐπειδὴν οὐ πρὸς ἓν ἔθνος ἐγράφησαν, ὡς αἱ τοῦ Παύλου, ἀλλὰ καθόλου πρὸς πάντα. *Leontius de Sectis.* And so continued, not only in relation to the Scriptures, but to the epistles of others, as Eusebius of Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth: Χρησιμώτατον ἅπασιν ἑαυτὸν καθιστὰς ἐν αἷς ὑπετυποῦτο Καθολικαῖς πρὸς τὰς ἐκκλησίας Ἐπιστολαῖς. *Hist.* l. 4. c. 23.

^a So Justin Martyr: Μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν Καθολικὴν καὶ (συνελόντι φάναι) αἰωνίαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅμα πάντων ἀνάστασιν γενήσεσθαι καὶ κρίσιν. *Dial. adv. Tryph.* And Theophilus Antiochenus: "Ὅτι δυνατός ἐστιν ὁ Θεὸς ποιῆσαι τὴν Καθολικὴν ἀνάστασιν ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων. *Ad Autol.* l. 1. So Tertullian uses *catholicè* for *ex toto*: "Ab eo permittatur vel imperetur necesse est, catholicè fieri hæc, à quo ex parte." *De Fuga in Pers.* And for *generaliter*: "Etsi quædam inter domesticos disserebant, non tamen ea fuisse credendum est, quæ aliam regulam fidei superducerent, diversam et contrariam illi, quam catholicè in medium proferebant." *De Præf. adv. Hæc.* c. 26. "Hæc itaque dispecta totum ordinem Dei Judicis operarium et (ut digniùs dixerim) protectorem Catholicæ et summæ illius bonitatis ostendunt," l. 2. *adv. Marcion.* So he calls Christ, *Catholici patris Sacerdotem*, l. 4. Origen against Celsus: Καθολικῶς ἀποφηνάμενος Θεὸν οὐδένα πρὸς ἀνθρώπους κατεληλυθέναι, ἢ Θεοῦ παῖδα, l. 5., which he expounds immediately by καθόλου λελεγμένον. So he speaks of καθολικὸν Κέλσου ψεύδος, and ἐν τῷ Καθολικῷ περὶ πάντων τῶν τὰ πάτρια τηρούντων ἐπαίνῳ. So Justin Martyr: ἀμνηστίαν τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς τῆς Καθολικῆς δόξης ἐνέβαλον. *De Monarch. Dei.*

fore called the *Catholicus*^a, as general procurator of them all, from whence that title was by some transferred upon the Christian patriarchs.

When this title is attributed to the Church, it hath not always the same notion or signification: for when by the Church is understood the house of God, or place in which the worship of God is performed, then by the Catholic Church is meant no more than the common Church, into which all such persons as belonged to that parish in which it was built were wont to congregate. For where monasteries were in use, as there were separate habitations for men, and distinct for women, so

^a We read in the old Glossary, *καθολικὸς*, *Rationalis*, that is, the Receiver of the Imperial Revenue; not that it signifies so much of itself, but because he was the general receiver, and so not for receiving or accounting, but for the generality of his accounts in respect of others who were inferior, and whose receipts and accounts were more particular; therefore he was called *Catholicus*, who by the Latins was properly styled *Procurator summæ rei*, or *Rationalis summarum*. Thus Constantine signified to Cæcilianus, Bishop of Carthage, that he had written to his Procurator General to deliver him monies: 'Ἐδωκα γράμματα πρὸς Οὐρσον τὸν διασημώτατον Καθολικὸν τῆς Ἀφρικῆς, καὶ ἐδήλωσα αὐτῷ ὅπως τρισχιλίουں φόλλεις τῇ σῇ στεργότῃ ἀπαριθμῆσαι φροντίσῃ. *Euseb. Hist.* l. 10. c. 6. And in the same manner to Eusebius: 'Ἀπεστάλη δὲ γράμματα παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡμερότητος πρὸς τὸν τῆς διοικήσεως Καθολικόν, ὅπως ἅπαντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν αὐτῶν ἐπιτήδεια παρασχεῖν φροντίσειεν. *Idem de Vita Constant.* l. 4. c. 36.; et *Socr. Hist. Eccl.* l. 1. c. 9. So Suidas: 'Ἐπιστολῇ Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ παραβέτου πρὸς Πορφύριον Καθολικόν, which is the 36th of his epistles extant. This *Rationalis summarum* was by the Greeks expressed thus either by one word, *καθολικὸς*, or by more to the same purpose. So Dio Cocceianus, speaking of Aurelius Eubulus: Τοὺς γὰρ δὴ Καθόλου λόγους ἐπιτετραμμένους οὐδὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἐδήμευεν, in *Excerpt.* l. 79. So Porphyrius: 'Ὡστε καὶ Θανμασίῳ τινὸς τοῦνομα ἐπεισελθόντος τοὺς Καθόλου λόγους πράττοντος, in *Vita Plotin.* So Dionysius of Alexandria speaketh of Macrianus, who was *Procurator summæ rei* to the Emperor Valerianus: *Ὁς πρότερον μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν Καθόλου λόγων λεγομένος εἶναι βασιλέως, οὐδὲν εὐλογον (alluding to λόγων) οὐδὲ καθολικόν (alluding to Καθόλου) ἐφρόνησεν, ἀλλ' ὑπεπέπτωκεν ἄρᾳ προφητικῇ τῇ λεγούσῃ· οὐαὶ τοῖς προφητεύουσιν ἀπὸ καρδίας αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ Καθόλου μὴ βλέπουσιν, οὐ γὰρ συνήκε τὴν Καθόλου πρόνοιαν, οὐδὲ τὴν κρίσιν ὑπείδετο τοῦ πρὸ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι· διὸ καὶ τῆς μὲν Καθολικῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας γέγονε πολέμιος. *Euseb. Hist.* l. 7. c. 10.

were there also churches for each distinct; and in the parishes where there is no distinction of sexes as to habitation, there was a common church which received them both, and therefore called Catholic.^a

Again, when the Church is taken for the persons making profession of the Christian faith, the Catholic is often added in opposition to heretics and schismatics, expressing a particular church^b continuing in the true

^a Thus Ἐκκλησία Καθολικὴ is often to be understood, especially in the latter Greeks, for the common or Parochial Church. As we read in *Codinus de Officiis Constant.*: Ὁ Σακελλίου τὴν ἐνοχὴν ἔχων τῶν Καθολικῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν. And again: Ὁ Ἀρχων τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν ἔχων τὴν ἐνοχὴν τῶν Καθολικῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν μετὰ προτροπῆς τοῦ Σακελλίου. So, likewise, Balsamon: Λέγεται Σακελλάριος ὁ τῶν μοναστηριῶν διοικητὴς, ὡς ὁ Σακελλίου ὑποκοριστικῶς ὁ τῶν Καθολικῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν φροντιστής. *Lib. 7. Juris Græcorum.* Where appeareth a manifest distinction of the monastic and the Catholic Churches. Hence Alexius, Patriarch of Constantinople, complaineth of such as frequented the private chapels, and avoided the common churches, describing those persons in this manner: Πατριαρχικοῖς σταυροπηγίοις ἢ καὶ ἐπισκοπικοῖς διαβροῦντες, τὰς Καθολικὰς παραιτούμενοι, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ ταύταις συνάξεων καταφρονοῦντες. *Lib. 4. Juris Græcorum.*

^b As the Smyrneans spake in Eusebius of Polycarpus, Γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ Καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. *lib. 4. c. 15.* So Καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία ἢ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, in Epiphanius. Thus Gregory Nazianzen begins his own last will, Γρηγόριος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, in which he bequeaths his estate, τῇ ἁγίᾳ Καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐν Ναζιανζῷ, and subscribes it after the same manner in words in which he began it, and so the rest of the bishops which subscribed as witnesses: Ἀμφιλόχιος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Ἰκονίᾳ. Ὀπτιμος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν Καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Θεόδωσιος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Ἰδῇ. Θεόδουλος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἁγίας Καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς κατὰ Ἀπάμειαν. Ἰλάριος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς κατὰ Ἰσαυρίαν. Θεμιστιος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς κατὰ Ἀδριανούπολιν. In the same manner speak the Latins: "Eodem itaque tempore in Ecclesia Hipponensi Catholica Valerius Sanctus Episcopatum gerebat." *Possidius de Vita Aug. c. 4.* Thus any particular true church is called the Catholic Church of the place in which it is; and all churches which retain the Catholic faith are called Catholic Churches. As when the Synod of Antioch concluded their sentence against the Samosatenians thus, καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ Καθολικαὶ Ἐκκλησίαι συμφωνοῦσιν ἡμῖν. According to which notion, we read in Leo the Great: "Ad venerationem Pentecostes unanimiter incitemur exultantes in honorem S. Spiritus, per quem omnis Ecclesia Catholica sanctificatur, omnis anima rationalis imbuatur." *Serm. 1. de Pentec.* Whence we read in the Synod of Ariminum: εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ πάντες ἐπίσκοποι συνήλθομεν, ἵνα

faith with the rest of the Church of God, as the Catholic Church in Smyrna, the Catholic Church in Alexandria,

Now being these particular Churches could not be named Catholic as they were particular, in reference to this or that city in which they were congregated, it followeth that they were called Catholic by their coherence and conjunction with that Church which was properly and originally called so^a; which is the Church taken in that acceptation which we have already delivered. That Church which was built upon the Apostles as upon the foundation, congregated by their preaching and by their baptizing, receiving continued accession, and disseminated in several parts of the earth, containing within it numerous congregations, all which were truly called Churches, as members of the same Church; that Church, I say, was, after some time, called the Catholic Church, that is to say, the name Catholic was used by the Greeks

καὶ ἡ πῖστις τῆς Καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας γνωρισθῇ, καὶ οἱ τὰναντία φρονούντες ἐκδηλοὶ γένωνται, although in Athanasius, Theodoret, and Socrates, it be constantly written, τῆς Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, yet S. Hilary did certainly read it, ταῖς Καθολικαῖς Ἐκκλησίαις, for it is thus translated in his fragments, "Ut fides claresceret omnibus Ecclesiis Catholicis, et hæretici noscerentur." From whence it came to pass, that in the same city, Heretics and Catholics having their several congregations, each of which was called the Church, the congregation of the Catholics was by way of distinction called the Catholic Church. Of which this was the old advice of S. Cyril of Jerusalem: "Ἄν ποτε ἐπιδημῆς ἐν πόλεσι, μὴ ἀπλῶς ἐξέταζε ποῦ τὸ Κυριακὸν ἐστι· καὶ γὰρ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν ἀσεβῶν αἵρέσεις Κυριακὰ τὰ ἐαυτῶν σπῆλαια καλεῖν ἐπιχειροῦσι· μηδὲ ποῦ ἐστὶν ἀπλῶς ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἀλλὰ ποῦ ἐστὶν ἡ Καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. *Catech.* 18. "Ego fortè ingressus populosam urbem hodie cùm Marcionitas, cùm Apollinaricos, Cataphrygas, Novatianos, et cæteros ejusmodi comperissem, qui se Christianos vocarent, quo cognominem congregationem meæ plebis agnoscerem nisi Catholica diceretur?" *Pacian. ad Symp. Ep.* 1. "Tenet postremò ipsum Catholicæ nomen, quod non sine causa inter tam multas hæreses sic ista Ecclesia sola obtinuit, ut cùm omnes hæretici se Catholicos dici velint, quærenti tamen peregrino alicui, ubi ad Catholicam conveniatur, nullus hæreticorum, vel Basilicam suam vel domum audeat ostendere." *S. Aug. cont. Epist. Fundamenti*, cap. 4.

^a "Nonne appellatione propriâ decuit caput principale signari?" *Pacianus*, *ibid.*

to signify the whole. For being every particular congregation, professing the name of Christ, was from the beginning called a Church; being likewise all such congregations considered together were originally comprehended under the name of the Church; being these two notions of the word were different, it came to pass, that, for distinction sake, at first they called the Church, taken in the large and comprehensive sense, by as large and comprehensive a name, the Catholic Church.^a

Although this seem the first intention of those which gave the name Catholic to the Church, to signify thereby nothing else but the whole or universal Church; yet those which followed did signify by the same that affection of the Church which floweth from the nature of it, and may be expressed by that word. At first they called the whole Church Catholic, meaning no more than the universal Church; but having used that term some space of time, they considered how the nature of

^a I conceive at first there was no other meaning in the word *Καθολικὴ* than what the Greek language did signify thereby, that is, *tota* or *universa*, as S. Austin, "*Cum dixisset de super contexta, addidit per totum. Quod si referamus ad id quod significat, nemo ejus est expers qui pertinere invenitur ad totum: à quo toto, sicut Græca indicat lingua, Catholica vocatur Ecclesia.*" *Tract. in Joan.* 118. The most ancient author that I find it in (except Ignatius, "*Οπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω, ὥσπερ οὗτου ἂν ᾗ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ Καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία,* *Ep. ad Smyrnaeos*) is Clemens Alexandrinus, *μόνην εἶναι φάμεν τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ Καθολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν.* *Strom.* l. 7. But the passion of Polycarpus written in the name of the Church of Smyrna, may be much ancienter, in which the original notion seemeth most clear: *Ἡ Ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Σμύρναν τῇ παροικοῦσῃ ἐν Φιλομηλίῳ, καὶ πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ πάντα τόπων τῆς ἁγίας Καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παροικίαις, i. e. omnibus totius Ecclesiæ paræciis.* *Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* l. 4. c. 15. It was otherwise called in the same notion ἡ *Καθόλου*. As Apollinarius, Bishop of Hierapolis: *Τὴν δὲ Καθόλου καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκκλησίαν βλασφημεῖν διδάσκοντος τοῦ ἀπηνθαρτισμένου πνεύματος.* *Apud Euseb.* l. 5. c. 16. And Eusebius: *Προῆει δὲ εἰς αὐξήσιν καὶ μέγεθος αἱ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχουσα ἡ τῆς Καθόλου καὶ μόνης ἀληθοῦς ἐκκλησίας λαμπρότης.* *Hist.* l. 4. c. 7. *Καθολικὴ*, then, and ἡ *καθόλου*, is the same, *the whole, general, or universal.*

the Church was to be universal, and in what that universality did consist.

As far then as the ancient Fathers have expressed themselves, and as far as their expressions are agreeable with the descriptions of the Church delivered in the Scriptures, so far, I conceive, we may safely conclude that the Church of Christ is truly Catholic, and that the truly Catholic Church is the true Church of Christ; which must necessarily be sufficient for the explication of this affection, which we acknowledge when we say we *believe the Catholic Church*.

The most obvious and most general notion of this Catholicism consisteth in the diffusiveness of the Church, grounded upon the commission given to the builders of it, "Go teach all nations," whereby they and their successors were authorised and empowered to gather congregations of believers, and so to extend the borders of the Church unto the utmost parts of the earth. The Synagogue of the Jews especially consisted of one nation, and the public worship of God was confined to one country: "In Judah was God known, and his name was great in Israel; in Salem was his tabernacle, and his dwelling-place in Sion.^a He showed his word unto Jacob, his statutes and his judgments unto Israel; he hath not dealt so with any nation."^b The Temple was the only place in which the sacrifices could be offered, in which the priests could perform their office of ministration; and so under the Law there was an inclosure divided from all the world besides. But God said unto his Son, "I will give the heathen for thine inheritance;

^a Psalm lxxvi. 1, 2.

^b Psalm cxlvii. 29.

and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession.”^a And Christ commanded the Apostles, saying, “Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature^b :” “that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.”^c Thus the Church of Christ, in its primary institution, was made to be of a diffusive nature, to spread and extend itself from the city of Jerusalem, where it first began, to all the parts and corners of the earth. From whence we find them in the Revelation crying to the Lamb, “Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation.”^d This reason did the ancient Fathers render why the Church was called Catholic^e, and the nature of the Church is so described in the Scriptures.

Secondly, They call the Church of Christ the Catholic Church, because it teacheth all things which are necessary for a Christian to know, whether they be

^a Psalm ii. 8.^b Mark, xvi. 15.^c Luke, xxiv. 47.^d Rev. v. 9.

^e We have before observed of Arius and Euzoius, that naming the Catholic Church in their creed, they gave withal the interpretation of it, *Εἰς μίαν Καθολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων*. S. Cyril of Jerusalem gives this as the first importance of the word, *Καθολικὴν μὲν οὖν καλεῖται διὰ τὸ κατὰ πάσης εἶναι τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπὸ περάτων γῆς ἕως περάτων*. *Catech.* 18. “Ubi ergo erit proprietas Catholici nominis, cum inde dicta sit Catholica, quod non sit nationalis sed ubique diffusa?” *Optatus*, l. 2. “Ipsa est enim Ecclesia Catholica: unde *Καθολικὴ* Græcè appellatur, quod per totum orbem diffunditur.” *S. Aug. epist.* 170. “Ecclesia illa est quam modò dixi unicam suam, hæc est unica Catholica quæ toto orbe copiosè diffunditur, quæ usque ad ultimas gentes crescendo porrigitur.” *Idem*, *epist.* 30. “Si autem dubitas quod Ecclesiam quæ per omnes gentes numerositate copiosa dilatat, S. Scriptura commendat, multis et manifestissimis testimoniis ex eadem authoritate prolatis onerabo.” *Idem contra Crescon.* l. 1. c. 33. “Sancta Ecclesia ideo dicitur Catholica, pro eo quod universaliter per omnem mundum sit diffusa.” *Isidorus de Summo Bono*, l. 1. c. 9.

things in heaven or things in earth; whether they concern the condition of man in this life, or in the life to come. As the Holy Ghost did lead the Apostles into all truth, so did the Apostles leave all truth unto the Church, which teaching all the same, may be well called Catholic^a, from the universality of necessary and saving truths retained in it.

Thirdly, The Church hath been thought fit to be called Catholic, in reference to the universal obedience which it prescribeth; both in respect of the persons, obliging men of all conditions^b; and in relation to the precepts, requiring the performance of all the evangelical commands.^c

^a This is the second interpretation delivered by S. Cyril: *Καὶ διὰ τὸ διδάσκειν καθολικῶς καὶ ἀνελλιπῶς ἅπαντα τὰ εἰς γνώσιν ἀνθρώπων ἐλθεῖν ὀφείλοντα δόγματα περὶ τε ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων πραγμάτων ἐπουρανίων τε καὶ ἐπιγείων.* *Catech.* 18. "Ecclesia Græcum nomen est, quod in Latinum vertitur Convocatio, propterea quod ad se omnes vocet. Catholica (id est, Universalis) ideo dicitur quia per universum mundum est constituta, vel quoniam Catholica, hoc est, generalis in eadem doctrina est ad instructionem." *In Decret. Ivo. lib. i.*

^b This is the third interpretation of S. Cyril: *Καὶ διὰ τὸ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων εἰς εὐδόξειαν ὑποτάσσειν ἀρχόντων τε καὶ ἀρχομένων, λογίων τε καὶ ἰδιώτων.* *Cat.* 18.

^c "Si reddenda Catholici vocabuli ratio est, et exprimenda de Græco interpretatione Latinâ, Catholicus ubique unum, vel (ut doctiores putant) obedientia omnium nuncupatur, mandatorum scilicet Dei. Unde Apostolus, 'Si in omnibus obedientes estis,' et iterum, 'Sicut enim per inobedientiam unius peccatores constituti sunt multi, sic per dicto audientiam unius justi constituentur multi,' Ergo qui Catholicus, idem justus obediens." *Pacianus, Epist. 1. ad Sympron.* "Acutum autem aliquid tibi videris dicere cùm Catholicæ nomen non ex totius orbis communione interpretaris, sed ex observatione præceptorum omnium divinorum atque omnium Sacramentorum: quasi nos etiamsi fortè hinc sit appellata Catholica, quòd totum veraciter teneat, cujus veritatis nonnullæ particulæ etiam in diversis inveniuntur hæresibus, hujus nominis testimonio nitamur ad demonstrandum Ecclesiam in omnibus gentibus, et non promissis Dei et tam multis tamque manifestis oraculis ipsius veritatis. Sed nempe hoc est totum, quod nobis persuadere conaris, solos remansisse Rogatistas, qui Catholici rectè appellandi sint ex observatione præceptorum omnium divinorum atque omnium Sacramentorum." *S. Aug. Vincentio, epist. 48.* Indeed this notion of the Catholic Church was urged by the Donatists as the only

Fourthly^a, the Church hath been yet farther called or reputed Catholic, by reason all graces are given in it, whereby all diseases of the soul are healed, and spiritual virtues are disseminated, all the works and words and thoughts of men are regulated, till we become perfect men in Christ Jesus.

In all these four acceptations did some of the ancient Fathers understand the Church of Christ to be Catholic, and every one of them doth certainly belong unto it. Wherefore I conclude that this Catholicism, or second affection of the Church, consisteth generally in universality, as embracing all sorts of persons; as to be disseminated through all nations; as comprehending all ages; as containing all necessary and saving truths; as obliging all conditions of men to all kind of obedience; as curing all diseases, and planting all graces in the souls of men.

The necessity of believing the Holy Catholic Church appeareth first in this, that Christ hath appointed it as the only way unto eternal life. We read at the first, that “the Lord added daily to the Church such as should be saved^b ;” and what was then daily done, hath

notion of it in opposition to the universality of place and communion. For when the Catholics answered for themselves, “*Quia Ecclesiæ toto orbe diffusæ, cui testimonium perhibet Scriptura divina, ipsi, non Donatistæ communicant, unde Catholici meritò et sunt et vocantur: Donatistæ autem responderunt, Non Catholicum nomen ex universitate gentium, sed ex plenitudine Sacramentorum institutum.*” *Idem, Collat. 3. diei c. 2.*

^a This is the fourth and last explication given by S. Cyril: *Διὰ τὸ καθολικῶς ἰατρεῦειν μὲν καὶ θεραπεύειν, ἅπαν τὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν εἶδος τῶν διὰ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἐπιτελουμένων, κεκτήσθαι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ πᾶσαν ἰδέαν ὀνομαζομένης ἀρετῆς, ἐν ἔργοις τε καὶ λόγοις καὶ πνευματικοῖς παντοίοις χαρίσμασι.* *Catech. 18.*

^b Acts, ii. 47.

been done since continually. Christ never appointed two ways to heaven; nor did he build a Church to save some, and make another institution for other men's salvation. "There is no other name under heaven given unto men whereby we must be saved, but the name of "Jesus^a;" and that name is no otherwise given under heaven than in the Church.^b As none were saved from the Deluge but such as were within the ark of Noah, framed for their reception by the command of God; as none of the first-born of Egypt lived, but such as were within those habitations whose doorposts were sprinkled with blood by the appointment of God for their preservation; as none of the inhabitants of Jericho could escape the fire or sword, but such as were within the house of Rahab, for whose protection a covenant was made; so none shall ever escape the eternal wrath of God, which belong not to the Church of God. This is the congregation of those persons here on earth which shall hereafter meet in heaven. These are the vessels of the tabernacle carried up and down, at last to be translated into and fixed in the temple.

Secondly, It is necessary to believe the Church of Christ, which is but one, that being in it we may take care never to cast ourselves, or be ejected out of it. There is a power within the Church to cast those out

^a Acts, iv. 12.

^b Καθάπερ ἐν θαλάσῃ νῆσοι εἰσὶν αἱ μὲν οἰκηταὶ καὶ εὐδροὶ καὶ καρποφόροι, ἔχουσαι ὄρους καὶ λιμένας, πρὸς τὸ τοὺς χειμαζομένους ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς καταφυγὰς· οὕτω δέδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς τῷ κόσμῳ κυμαινομένῳ καὶ χειμαζομένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τὰς συναγωγὰς, λεγομένας Ἐκκλησίας, ἐν αἷς καθάπερ λιμέσιν εὐόροις ἐν νήσοις αἱ διδασκαλῖαι τῆς ἀληθείας εἰσὶ, πρὸς αἷς καταφεύγουσιν οἱ θέλοντες σώζεσθαι. *S. Theophil. Antioch. Autol.* 1. 2. Μιᾶ δὲ προσήκειν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν σωτηρίαν ταύτην ἐπιστάμεθα καὶ μηδένα τῆς Καθολικῆς ἔξωθεν ἐκκλησίας καὶ πίστεως μετέχειν Χριστοῦ δυνάμενον μηδὲ σώζεσθαι. *S. Chrys. in Pascha Hom.* 1.

which do belong to it; for if any “neglect to hear the Church,” saith our Saviour, “let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican.” By great and scandalous offences, by incorrigible misdemeanours, we may incur the censure of the Church of God; and while we are shut out by them we stand excluded out of heaven: for our Saviour said to his Apostles, upon whom he built his Church, “Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.” Again: a man may not only passively and involuntarily be rejected, but also may, by an act of his own, cast out or reject himself, not only by plain and complete apostasy, but by a defection from the unity of truth, falling into some damnable heresy; or by an active separation, deserting all which are in communion with the Catholic Church, and falling into an irrecoverable schism.

Thirdly, It is necessary to believe the Church of Christ to be holy, lest we should presume to obtain any happiness by being of it, without that holiness which is required in it. It is enough that the end, institution, and administration of the Church are holy: but, that there may be some real and permanent advantage received by it, it is necessary that the persons abiding in the communion of it should be really and effectually sanctified. Without which holiness the privileges of the Church prove the greatest disadvantages; and the means of salvation neglected, tend to a punishment with aggravation. It is not only vain, but pernicious, to attend at the marriage-feast without a wedding-garment; and it is our Saviour’s description of folly to cry “Lord

Lord, open to us," while we are without oil in our lamps. We must acknowledge a necessity of holiness, when we confess that Church alone which is holy can make us happy.^a

Fourthly, There is a necessity of believing the Catholic Church, because except a man be of that he can be of none. For, being the Church, which is truly Catholic, containeth within it all which are truly Churches, whosoever is not of the Catholic Church cannot be of the true Church. That Church alone which first began at Jerusalem on earth, will bring us to the Jerusalem in heaven; and that alone began there which always embraceth "the faith once delivered to the saints." Whatsoever Church pretendeth to a new beginning, pretendeth at the same time to a new churchdom, and whatsoever is so new, is none. So necessary it is to believe the Holy Catholic Church.

Having thus far explicated the first part of this Article, I conceive every person sufficiently furnished with means of instruction what they ought to intend when they profess to believe the Holy Catholic Church. For thereby every one is understood to declare thus much: I am fully persuaded, and make a free confession of this, as of a necessary and infallible truth, that Christ, by the preaching of the Apostles, did gather unto himself a Church, consisting of thousands of believing persons and numerous congregations, to which he daily added such as should be saved, and will successively and

^a "Sola Catholica Ecclesia est quæ verum cultum retinet. Hic est fons veritatis, hoc est domicilium fidei, hoc templum Dei: quo si quis non intraverit; vel à quo si quis exierit; à spe vitæ ac salutis æternæ alienus est." *Lactant.* l. 4, c. 30.

daily add to the same unto the end of the world: so that by the virtue of his all-sufficient promise, I am assured that there was, hath been hitherto, and now is, and hereafter shall be so long as the sun and moon endure, a Church of Christ, one and the same. This Church I believe in general holy, in respect of the author, end, institution, and administration of it: particularly in the members here I acknowledge it really, and in the same hereafter perfectly, holy. I look upon this Church not like that of the Jews, limited to one people, confined to one nation, but by the appointment and command of Christ, and by the efficacy of his assisting power, to be disseminated through all nations; to be extended to all places; to be propagated to all ages; to contain in it all truths necessary to be known; to exact absolute obedience from all men to the commands of Christ; and to furnish us with all graces necessary to make our persons acceptable, and our actions well-pleasing in the sight of God. And thus *I believe the Holy Catholic Church.*

A LOVE TO PUBLIC WORSHIP, AND PLACES
DEDICATED TO IT, RECOMMENDED.

[JOHN ROGERS, D.D.]

PSALM lxxxiv. 1.

How amiable are thy Tabernacles, O Lord of Hosts !

THE composure of this Psalm is, with some uncertainty, ascribed either to David when he fled from Saul into the land of the Philistines, or when he was driven from Jerusalem by the rebellion of his son ; or to some later prophet, speaking in the names of the captives at Babylon. The latter conjecture appears the less probable, because many expressions here used can hardly be reconciled to the state of the Jewish worship in the days of the captivity, when (as Jeremiah laments) the tabernacle was taken away, the places of assembly destroyed, and the solemn Feasts and Sabbaths forgotten.

But, whoever was the author of this Psalm, there appears in it the character of a truly devout soul, breathing forth his affections to the service of God, and all that related to it. In application of this Scripture, I shall endeavour to recommend his example to your imitation, as it expresses, — I. A devout affection to the public worship of God ; and for the sake of that, II. To the places dedicated to it ; for the tabernacles of the

Lord were therefore amiable to him, because, as he tells us, "They that dwelt in his house were always praising him."

That God is to be worshipped, is a first principle of natural religion, immediately arising from the acknowledgment of a Deity; and that we are obliged to a public and social performance of this duty, might be inferred as a consequence of that principle. But the Scripture before us rather leads me to recommend the public worship of God to your love and esteem, than to enforce the obligation of it as a duty. And, if we love the Master, we shall love the service he requires from us, and with especial delight attend those duties by which his holy name is more eminently honoured, his sovereignty acknowledged, and the glory of his kingdom manifested to the world. Now, the power and majesty of God's kingdom among men never appears in so visible lustre as in the congregation of his saints, where numbers of his creatures and subjects are assembled before him, and with united hearts and voices address sacrifices of prayers and praise to his throne. What transports of pleasure must such a scene infuse into a man who loves and honours God! An overflowing delight will fill his soul, and his heart will dance for joy, when he beholds around him such an image of heaven; the fairest resemblance that earth can afford of that holy and happy assembly, "who cease not, day and night, to ascribe honour, and glory, and power to him who sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb that was slain for the sins of the world." If we find in ourselves a coldness and indifference to this service, we may be assured all

is not right within us : our soul must be distempered, and our spiritual appetites depraved and vitiated, if this spiritual entertainment, this food of angels, be tasteless and insipid to us. It was a consciousness of guilt and nakedness made Adam attempt to hide himself from God, and rendered that presence, which was the joy of his innocence, a terror and burden to him. As God is the supreme and ultimate object of a good man's affections, his rest and his confidence, the centre of all his hopes and desires, so the greatest felicity he is capable of in this life arises from acts of communion with Him. God, indeed, is never far from any of us ; He is about our bed, and about our path ; his presence is always open to the addresses of his servants. He attends even to every ejaculation darted up from the shop or the field ; and in every place, and at every season, sheds down his graces and comforts on the faithful worshipper. But, as the influences of his Spirit never descend more freely than in the courts of his sanctuary, so the soul is there peculiarly disposed to receive and enjoy them. The concurrent devotions of the assembly open and enlarge every spiritual capacity, awaken our zeal, and warm our affections. We find, by all experience, how apt the same passions are to spread and diffuse themselves through numerous assemblies of men, how easily they catch and take fire from one another ; and the observation holds as well in religious assemblies as in any other. The affections proper to the offices we are there engaged in are kindled by communication from one to another ; and the coldest breast must burn with divine love, when every heart around him appears

wrapt in that holy flame. To a soul thus disposed to receive him, the spirit of joy descends in more abundant consolations, and gives him “drink of his pleasures as out of a river.” From the experience of these heavenly communications proceeded those earnest longings of the Psalmist to appear in the courts of God. In the land of his exile, when he “dwelt with Mesech, and had his habitation among the tents of Kedar,” God, he knew, was with him, heard and answered his prayers; and in the midst of his sorrows, His comforts refreshed his soul. But still something was wanting which solitude could not furnish. His affections did not rise with that fervour and vivacity to meet and enjoy God as they were wont to do in the service of the tabernacle, when he went with the multitude, and brought them forth into the house of God. His devotions were comparatively faint and languid, and the spiritual pleasures of the closet were not equal to those of the sanctuary. The holy man felt the disparity, and expresses the emptiness of his soul by the most eager and impatient appetites of our nature. “My soul (says he) is athirst for God: as the hart panteth after the water-brooks, so longeth my soul after thee, O God. When shall I come to appear before the presence of God?” Thus amiable to a devout soul is public worship, considered as an act of communion with God.

It is further endeared to us, considered as an act of religious communion with one another. For this is a service which equally promotes the “glory of God in the highest, and peace and good will among men.” It is in these holy assemblies we appear as servants of the same

Master, as children of the same Father which is in heaven, and recognize those engaging relations which unite us to Christ and one another. Every fierce and unbenevolent passion must here be calmed; and whatever resentments or particular interests and pursuits may divide us from each other, yet surely in the house of God we shall walk together as friends. For how can malice, envy, or revenge remain in our hearts, when we are mutually imploring the graces and blessings of Heaven for each other? Can we hate him whom we behold entreating God to pour his benefits upon us? Can we withhold our forgiveness from him whom we here see humbling himself in a penitent confession of all his offences; whom we beseech God to hear and forgive; and whom the conditions of that pardon we are praying for ourselves, call upon us to forgive? Here, if ever, the insolence of the rich, and the envy of the poor, all those disquietudes which are apt to arise from the different stations and conditions of men, will be softened and appeased. In the duties of this place, we all present ourselves before the great and glorious God as creatures and sinners; and how must the pride of man be humbled, when he reflects on himself under these characters? How little must the greatest among men appear in his own eyes, in comparison with that infinite Majesty before whom he stands? How trifling the advantages of fortune or authority he possesses? How inconsiderable the distance at which he is removed from the meanest of his brethren? We behold here high and low, indigent and wealthy, bond and free, kneeling before the same altar, equally permitted to

approach the Lord of heaven and earth, equally related to him, equally entitled to his promises and favour; all aspiring to that better country, were these temporary distinctions must for ever cease and be abolished. With what influence must such a sight reconcile the several ranks and orders of men to each other, dispose the rich to humility and compassion, the poor to gratitude and content, and diffuse love and amity through the whole assembly!

Yet farther will public worship be recommended to us, when we reflect that the most express encouragements of success are given to this service. Where two or three are gathered together in his name, our Lord has promised to be in the midst of them. The united prayers of a devout congregation offer a kind of holy violence to Heaven, and address the mercy of God with a force which he will not resist. We are redeemed as a Church, sanctified as a Church, the favours and privileges of the Gospel belong to us as members of a Church; and it is here only we worship as visibly united in that character. It is here we eat of the same spiritual bread, and drink of the same spiritual cup, and partake in those ordinances which Christ has instituted as means of grace, the ordinary pledges and seals of the remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion. It is here we receive the comfort and instruction of the Word of Life, are confirmed in the faith, and exhorted to obedience, by those whom Christ has appointed for "the work of the ministry, for the perfecting of the saints, for the edifying of his body."

In sum, it is here the holy angels of God more

especially attend upon us ; it is here we express and keep up our communion with that heavenly host, with “ the general assembly and church of the first-born which are written in heaven, with the spirits of just men made perfect, with God the Judge of all, and with Jesus the Mediator of the new Covenant, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth are named.” If, therefore, there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if we have any sense of the honour of those great relations to which we are here admitted, if any taste of the spiritual pleasures of communion with God and his saints, with joy and gladness shall we attend the returns of these holy assemblies, and seek here the comfort and refreshment of our souls.

And if our hearts are truly affected towards the public worship of God, all that relates to it will be venerable to us ; and the duty which from this Scripture I am,

Secondly, to recommend to you, will in consequence engage your regard. If we love the service, the places set apart and dedicated to it, the tabernacles of the Lord, will be amiable in our eyes.

For though God “ dwelleth not in temples made with hands,” though his immensity cannot be confined by walls and roofs, but he is everywhere present to those who adore him in spirit and in truth ; yet the Holy Ghost has thought fit to ascribe to places consecrated to his solemn worship the honour of his peculiar residence. Thus he is said to have “ dwelt between the cherubims” of the mercy-seat ; the Temple is called “ his house,” “ his court,” “ the habitation of his holiness,” “ the place where

his honour dwelt." And we find a respect suitable to these high characters paid towards it by the greatest examples of piety, and enjoined as a duty of religion.

It may perhaps be objected that the expressions, the precedents, and precepts here referred to, were accommodated only to the legal economy, a dispensation that consisted of outward observances, a ceremonious regard to outward things and ritual consecrations; that the Gospel has abolished these old things, and prescribed a religion of quite a different genius, purely spiritual, and wholly abstracted from these externals; and therefore the argument will not hold from the one to the other. Now, that whatever was typical in the Law, or merely of positive institution, ceases to oblige Christians, we can easily admit: that the service peculiarly insisted on by the Gospel is the internal devotion of the heart to God in spirit and in truth, we also acknowledge: but that a reverence for places dedicated to the worship of God is either an expired part of the Law, or inconsistent with the spirituality of the Gospel, we cannot allow.

Our blessed Lord, the Author of our religion, far from discouraging such reverence, declared his concern for it by an act of zeal, the most remarkable of his whole life. In the reproof of other crimes he was meek and lowly; even the blasphemies and indignities offered to his own sacred person he bore without resentment or complaint; but when he saw the "house of prayer," his Father's house, profaned, the fire kindled within him, and broke out into a holy transport of indignation against the offenders. And the argument arising from this example of our Lord extends, with parity of reason, to

Christian temples; for we cannot imagine that irreverence shown to the worship he himself instituted should be without offence to him, who was so highly provoked with that shown to a worship he came to supersede.

But how comes it to pass, that the same measure and kind of reverence should be censured as a Judaical superstition when applied to temples, which, in a parallel case, is universally acknowledged a Christian duty? The treating at least one day in the week with peculiar respect, as holy to the Lord, is, I think, confessed to be a duty in the practice and doctrine of all who call themselves Christians. Now a place set apart for divine worship acquires just the same relative holiness that a day set apart to the same purpose does: and consequently, the arguments that prove a reverence due to the one, must be equally conclusive when applied to the other. If we look for an express command for such respect to either, in the writings of the New Testament, we find none; and in the Old, both are joined together in the same precept: "Ye shall keep my sabbaths, and reverence my sanctuaries." Levit. xix. 30.

But, in truth, the obligation of this duty depends not merely on a positive precept, but arises from the reason of the thing, and is a branch of natural religion; neither can the reverence of God himself be preserved among mankind without it. In our present state, the temperament and passions of the soul will be influenced by outward impressions: through this channel the greater part of our ideas enter. And though some few contemplative persons may want no assistance from sensibles to excite their devotion, and elevate their affections to

God, yet the bulk of mankind are not capable of such abstractions, but must be led by "the things that are seen" to "the things that are not seen." And as we acknowledge there may be danger that some may dwell too much, and place too much of religion in externals; so there is equal danger on the other side, lest, while we pursue religion too far into the region of pure spirits, we lose ourselves in vision and enthusiasm. We have bodies as well as spirits, and these mutually act upon each other.

If we honour God in our hearts, his temples, ministers, and whatever has relation to his service, will be venerable in our eyes: and the impressions we receive from these outward relatives, by a natural chain, carry our thoughts on to God; and while we daily habituate ourselves to reverence them, we quicken and improve our reverence towards God, to whom they belong.

But we are farther to remember, that it is the duty of every man not only to love and honour God himself, but also to promote, as far as he is able, the same holy affections in others. Now, this can only be done by outward and visible acts. It is by these the light that is within us must shine before men. If we would prevail on others to reverence God, our own reverence must appear to them in such visible actions as are expressive of it. And by what visible actions can we more emphatically declare our reverence of God than by treating with outward respect whatever is sanctified and devoted to his service? The nature of man is the same under the Gospel as it was under the Law; his passions the same, moved and actuated by the same applications: and what-

ever had then a natural propriety to fix impressions of awe and reverence towards God in the minds of men, now is, and ever will be, equally proper to the end of the world. Since, therefore, God himself prescribed an outward reverence to his sanctuary, as an effectual means to preserve among his people a due reverence towards him, this will ever remain a duty, not merely as directed by that law, but as the proper means to an end perpetually necessary, and, therefore, of moral and perpetual obligation.

Now, our reverence to the temples of the Lord will especially appear, — First, by an awful deportment on all occasions of our approach to them. Secondly, a care to preserve them in decent and comely repair. And, first, our demeanour in and towards the house of God should be such as may acknowledge its sacred use and relation, and apparently distinguish it from all places of common and secular application. As to the particular actions by which we should express this respect, the rule that must govern us is plainly this — such actions or gestures as in common apprehension are marks and signs of reverence, should on these occasions appear in our behaviour.

For since (as I observed) this outward behaviour is intended to manifest to others the inward reverence of our hearts, it is necessary it should consist of such actions as, by those who behold them, will be understood to signify such reverence. This significancy, depending very much on the customs and sentiments prevailing among mankind, will somewhat vary with the opinions and usages of different ages and nations. But if our superiors, to whom the care of outward decency belongs,

have particularly prescribed in this case, their direction ought to be complied with; for, by such submission only an uniformity of practice can be preserved in societies of men, and uniformity itself is a part of decency of great and peculiar impression on all who behold it.

Where authority has not interposed, the application of the general rule before suggested is left to every man's own discretion.

Of actions by which holiness in a place has been acknowledged, the earliest we read of was putting off the shoes from the feet.

This was commanded to Moses when God appeared to him at the bush. It obtained afterwards as expressive of such reverence, not only among Jews, but several of the Heathen; and is at this day retained by many eastern nations, Christians and others. In these parts of the world, uncovering the head has by custom affixed to it the same significancy. And if the palace of a prince, and even every ordinary court of judicature, demands from us this respect, as proper to express and keep up the reverence due to the office and character of our temporal rulers, much more will these reasons oblige us to show it to "the courts of the Lord's house," "the palaces of the great King" of all the earth. In general, when we enter into the houses of God, we should "keep our feet," our whole deportment should be serious and devout, and all our words and actions relating to them should be such as may testify an awful regard to the Divine Presence, and a pious affection to the holy offices by which he is there served. But, secondly, our respect to the temples of the Lord should

appear in our care to preserve them in decent and comely repair.

That a visible beauty in his temples is acceptable to God, we may conclude, if we observe how particularly he himself directed the ornaments of the first tabernacle, and even inspired the workmen with skill, to execute the curious design: and all this elegance and expense he required from his people in poor and distressed circumstances, wandering through a desolate wilderness. And afterwards, when the Jewish state became confirmed by the conquest of all their enemies, with what complacency did he approve, and with what blessings reward the piety of David and Solomon? of the one in intending, and the other in finishing, the most magnificent temple in the whole world; a temple adorned with all the splendour that the most exquisite workmanship and the most costly materials could give to any building. It was not for any reasons peculiar to the Jewish religion that God was pleased with the stateliness and beauty of his house, but as it was a grateful acknowledgment to his providence for his manifold blessings, as it tended to raise more venerable conceptions of his majesty, and enliven the devotions of his worshippers: reasons which will ever remain in force, and recommend to all ages an imitation of that great example.

To the favour of God we owe all that we enjoy, and our gratitude cannot better appear than in bestowing part of what he has given, in the promotion of his service. "All this store," says David, "that we have prepared to build thee an house, cometh of thy hand,

and is all thine own; and of thine own have we given thee."

And what was it they gave? Was it only stones and timber, the bare necessary materials for the building? No, we read also of "gold for the things to be of gold, and silver for the things of silver, onyx-stones, and stones to be set glittering, and of divers colours, yea, all manner of precious stones, and marble in abundance." And in the execution of this great work, an immense treasure was bestowed in the decorations of it: the ceilings, the walls, the beams, the posts, and the doors were overlaid with gold; and the whole was garnished with precious stones for beauty, and with carved works, palm trees, and chains, and cherubims. Some possibly might then object, that more plainness and simplicity had better become the house of God; or that these costly ornaments "might have been sold for much, and given to the poor." But God approved the application by the visible presence of his glory filling the house, and declared to Solomon, "I have chosen and sanctified this house, that my name may be there for ever; and mine eyes and my heart shall be there perpetually."

The magnificence of this temple never was, and probably never will be, equalled; nor is it reasonable to expect it should be, because the circumstances of the case were particular. There was to be but this one in the land; and to the erection of this the treasures of two great princes, zealously intent on the work, and under the encouragement of their example, the wealth of a whole nation, was applied. And, doubtless, if all the

temples of this land were brought into one estimate, we ourselves might glory in an expense on divine worship far exceeding this. But what I would infer from the precedent is, that even pomp and splendour in the sanctuaries of God is very consistent with the sobriety of his worship; and the utmost ornament we can bestow on them is defended by this example. We honour God with that part of our substance which we thus apply, and the offering will be accepted as an act of devotion to his service.

The proportion of expense due to those works of piety is to be measured by the circumstances and abilities of a people, and the elegance obtaining in the building and furniture of their own houses. "Lo!" says the man after God's heart, "I dwell in a house of cedar, but the ark of the covenant of the Lord remaineth under curtains."

The disparity appeared such a reproach to the holy man as he was not able to bear. And as the houses of God in a land flourishing in wealth, and those ornaments of life which are consequent to it, ought, in general, to be more splendid than where these advantages are wanting; so, for the same reasons, the more opulent places in any nation ought to distinguish themselves from the poorer and less refined, by a greater care in the structure and ornaments of their temples; and that not only as a return due to God for the more large effusions of his bounty towards them, but as necessary to give its proper influence to the example, and render it promotive of the honour and reverence of God. For the ideas of decency in a temple, and the conclusions

arising from it, are relative to the condition of those to whom the support of it belongs.

Those degrees of neatness which in one place express a commendable zeal for the honour of God, and the decency of his worship, will, in another of greater affluence, appear mean and sordid, and are arguments of a profane and irreligious spirit. Should a stranger, who has seen in our houses an elegance of building without, and of ornaments within, enter into our temples, and find there no appearance of that wealth and plenty which he has every where else observed, would he not conclude that we are all children of this world, and that "the fear of God is not in this place?" If, therefore, we have any concern for the credit of our religion, we cannot suffer such a blemish in the esteem of the world to rest upon it.

But the decency or beauty of our temples is not only an evidence of our devotion, but, by a natural efficacy, promotive of it. It enlarges our conceptions of the majesty, holiness, and purity of that Being in whose presence we appear, and begets in us affections proportionable to those conceptions. And therefore the Holy Ghost, when he would raise our conceptions of the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev. xxi.) as high as he could, describes it as built of gold and silver and precious stones. The materials are a collection of all that is valuable in the esteem of men, or pleasant to behold. And if these images of sensible splendour and beauty were, in the judgment of Divine Wisdom, proper to represent to us the heavenly things themselves, to give us an idea of the peculiar residence of God, and to kindle in our hearts the veneration due to his presence, the like appearances

of beauty in our temples must be proportionably conducive to the same holy purposes.

There is, indeed, an excess to be avoided in beautifying holy places : but this consists rather in the kind than the measure of ornament. There are a sort of light meretricious decorations, apt to infuse ideas unsuitable to the solemnity of the place, and the sacred uses to which it is designed. The Church must not be dressed in the attire of an harlot, but of a grave and serious matron : and provided the ornaments are agreeable to this character, the more magnificent they are the more effectually will they engage our respect, and dispose us to reverence and devotion.

More might be added on this argument : but the beauty of this holy place reminds that I speak to those who are forward of their own accord, and want no exhortation to this duty.

It remains only to be observed to you, that the purity of the worshippers is the noblest ornament of the temple. If this be wanting, our churches, with all their decorations, will be but like “whited sepulchres, outwardly fair, but within full of all uncleanness.”

Let it, therefore, be our farther care to sanctify and cleanse every one ourselves, our souls and bodies, from all sinful pollutions. Let us bring hither clean hands and devout hearts, holy and undefiled affections. Then shall God delight in our temples and our service, hear our prayers, and accept our offerings ; till, from worshipping in these earthly tabernacles, we are admitted to adore him in “houses not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, whose builder and founder is God.”

ON PLACES FOR THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF GOD.

[RICHARD HOOKER.]

XI. SOLEMN duties of public service to be done unto God, must have their places set and prepared in such sort as beseemeth actions of that regard. Adam, even during the space of his small continuance in Paradise, had where to present himself before the Lord.^a Adam's sons had out of Paradise in like sort^b whither to bring their sacrifices. The Patriarchs used altars^c, and mountains^d, and groves^e, to the self-same purpose.

In the vast wilderness, when the people of God had themselves no settled habitation, yet a moveable tabernacle they were commanded of God to make.^f The like charge was given them against the time they should come to settle themselves in the land which had been promised unto their fathers: "Ye shall seek that place which the Lord your God shall choose."^g When God had chosen Jerusalem, and in Jerusalem Mount Moriah^h, there to have his standing habitation made, it was in the

^a Gen. iii. 8.^b Gen. iv. 3.^c Gen. xiii. 4.^d Gen. xxii. 1.^e Gen. xxi. 33.^f Exod. xxvi.^g Deut. xii. 5—7.^h 2 Chron. iii. 1.

chiefest of David's desires^a to have performed so good a work. His grief was no less that he could not have the honour to build God a temple, than their anger is at this day, who bite asunder their own tongues with very wrath, that they have not as yet the power to pull down the temples which they never built, and to level them with the ground. It was no mean thing which he purposed. To perform a work so majestic and stately was no small charge. Therefore he incited all men unto bountiful contribution^b, and procured towards it, with all his power, gold, silver, brass, iron, wood, precious stones, in great abundance.^c Yea, moreover, "Because I have," saith David, "a joy in the house of my God, I have of mine own gold and silver, besides all that I have prepared for the house of the sanctuary, given to the house of my God three thousand talents of gold, even the gold of Ophir, seven thousand talents of fined silver."^d After the overthrow of this first house of God, a second was instead thereof erected; but with so great odds, that they wept^e which had seen the former, and beheld how much this latter came behind it: the beauty whereof notwithstanding was such, that even this was also the wonder of the whole world. Besides which Temple, there were both in other parts of the land, and even in Jerusalem, by process of time, no small number of synagogues for men to resort unto. Our Saviour himself, and after him the Apostles, frequented both the one and the other.

The Church of Christ which was in Jerusalem, and

^a 2 Chron. vi. 7. Psalm, cxxxii. 3—5.

^b 1 Chron. xxii. 19.

^c 1 Chron. xxii. 14. ^d 1 Chron. xxix. 3, 4. ^e Ezra, iii. 12. Hag. ii. 3.

held that profession which had not the public allowance and countenance of authority, could not so long use the exercise of Christian religion but in private only.^a So that as Jews they had access to the Temple and synagogues, where God was served after the custom of the Law; but for that which they did as Christians, they were of necessity forced other where to assemble themselves.^b And as God gave increase to his Church, they sought out, both there and abroad, for that purpose, not the fittest (for so the times would not suffer them to do), but the safest place they could. In process of time, some whiles by sufferance, some whiles by special leave and favour, they began to erect themselves oratories; not in any sumptuous or stately manner, which neither was possible by reason of the poor estate of the Church, and had been perilous in regard of the world's envy towards them. At length, when it pleased God to raise up kings and emperors favouring sincerely the Christian truth, that which the Church before either could not or durst not do, was with all alacrity performed. Temples were in all places erected. No cost was spared, nothing judged too dear which that way should be spent. The whole world did seem to exult, that it had occasion of pouring out gifts to so blessed a purpose. That cheerful devotion which David this way did exceedingly delight to behold, and wish that the same in the Jewish people might be perpetual^c, was then in Christian people every where to be seen.

Their actions, till this day always accustomed to be

^a Acts, i. 13. ii. 1.

^b Acts, ii. 46.

^c 1 Chron. xxix. 17, 18.

spoken of with great honour, are now called openly into question. They, and as many as have been followers of their example in that thing, we especially that worship God either in temples which their hands made, or which other men since have framed by the like pattern, are in that respect charged no less than with the sin of idolatry. Our churches, in the foam of that good spirit which directeth such fiery tongues, they term spitefully the temples of Baal, idle synagogues, abominable styes.

XII. Wherein the first thing which moveth them thus to cast up their poisons, are certain solemnities, useful at the first erection of churches. Now, although the same should be blameworthy, yet this age (thanks be to God!) hath reasonably well forborne to incur the danger of any such blame. It cannot be laid unto many men's charge at this day living, either that they have been so curious as to trouble the bishops with placing the first stone in the churches they built, or so scrupulous, as, after the erecting of them, to make any great ado for their dedication. In which kind, notwithstanding, as we do neither allow unmeet, nor purpose the stiff defence of any unnecessary custom heretofore received^a; so we know no reason wherefore churches should be the worse, if at the first erecting of them, at the making of them public, at the time when they are delivered as it were into God's own possession, and when the use whereunto they shall ever serve is established, ceremonies fit to betoken such intents and to accompany such actions be

^a *Durand. Rational. lib. i. cap. vi. et de Consecratione, Dist. i. c. 2. "Tabernaculum." Gregor. Magn. Epist. lib. xii. 11. ix. 70. viii. 63.*

usual, as in the purest times they have been.^a When Constantine^b had finished an house for the service of God at Jerusalem, the dedication he judged a matter not unworthy, about the solemn performance whereof the greatest part of the bishops in Christendom should meet together. Which thing they did at the emperor's motion, each most willingly setting forth that action to their power; some with orations, some with sermons, some with the sacrifice of prayers unto God for the peace of the world, for the Church's safety, for the emperor's and his children's good. By Athanasius^c the like is recorded concerning a bishop of Alexandria, in a work of the like devout magnificence. So that whether emperors or bishops in those days were church-founders, the solemn dedication of churches they thought not to be a work in itself either vain or superstitious. Can we judge it a thing seemly for any man to go about the building of an house to the God of Heaven with no other appearance than if his end were to rear up a kitchen or parlour for his own use? Or when a work of such nature is finished, remaineth there nothing but presently to use it, and so an end?

It behoveth that the place where God shall be served by the whole Church be a public place, for the avoiding of privy conventicles, which, covered with pretence of religion, may serve unto dangerous practices.

^a Ἐγκαίνια τιμᾶσθαι παλαιὸς νόμος, καὶ καλῶς ἔχων, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ νέα τιμᾶσθαι δι' ἑγκαινίων. Καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις, ἐκάστης τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ περιτροπῆς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἐπαγούσης, ἵνα μὴ ἐξίτηλα τῷ χρόνῳ γένηται τὰ καλὰ. *Greg. Nazian. Orat. εἰς τὴν κυριακὴν.*

^b *Vide Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. iv. c. 41, 43—45.*

^c *Athanas. Apol. ad Constantium.*

Yea, although such assemblies be had indeed for religion's sake, hurtful nevertheless they may easily prove, as well in regard of their fitness to serve the turn of heretics, and such as privily will soonest adventure to instil their poison into men's minds; as also for the occasion which thereby is given to malicious persons, both of suspecting and of traducing with more colourable show those actions, which in themselves being holy, should be so ordered that no man might probably otherwise think of them. Which considerations have by so much the greater weight, for that of these inconveniences the Church heretofore had so plain experience, when Christian men were driven to use secret meetings, because the liberty of public places was not granted them. There are which hold, that the presence of a Christian multitude, and the duties of religion performed amongst them, do make the place of their assembly public; even as the presence of the king and his retinue maketh any man's house a court. But this I take to be an error, inasmuch as the only thing which maketh any place public is the public assignment thereof unto such duties. As for the multitude there assembled, or the duties which they perform, it doth not appear how either should be of force to infuse any such prerogative.

Nor doth the solemn dedication of churches serve only to make them public, but farther also to surrender up that right which otherwise their founders might have in them, and to make God himself their owner. For which cause, at the erection and consecration as well of the Tabernacle as of the Temple, it pleased

the Almighty to give a manifest sign that he took possession of both.^a Finally, it notifieth in solemn manner the holy and religious use whereunto it is intended such houses shall be put.^b

These things the wisdom of Solomon did not account superfluous.^c He knew how easily that which was meant should be holy and sacred might be drawn from the use whereunto it was first provided; he knew how bold men are to take even from God himself; how hardly that house would be kept from impious profanation he knew; and right wisely therefore endeavoured by such solemnities to leave in the minds of men that impression which might somewhat restrain their boldness, and nourish a reverend affection towards the house of God.^d For which cause, when the first house was destroyed, and a new in the stead thereof erected by the children of Israel after their return from captivity, they kept the dedication even of this house also with joy.^e

The argument which our Saviour useth against profaners of the Temple^f, he taketh from the use whereunto it was with solemnity consecrated. And as the prophet Jeremy forbiddeth the carrying of burdens on the sabbath, because that was a sanctified day^g; so because the Temple was a place sanctified, our Lord would not suffer, no, not the carriage of a vessel through the Temple.^h These two commandments therefore are

^a Exod. xl. 34. 1 Kings, viii. 11.

^b Exod. xl. 9.

^c 1 Kings, viii.

^d Lev. xvi. 2. The place named Holy.

^e Ezra, vi. 16.

^f Matt. xxi. 13.

^g Jer. xvii. 24.

^h Mark, xi. 16.

in the Law conjoined: “Ye shall keep my sabbaths, and reverence my sanctuary.”^a

Out of those the Apostle’s words, “Have ye not houses to eat and drink?”^b — albeit temples such as now were not then erected for the Christian religion, it hath been nevertheless not absurdly conceived^c that he teacheth what difference should be made between house and house; that what is fit for the dwelling-place of God, and what for man’s habitation, he showeth; he requireth that Christian men at their own home take common food, and in the house of the Lord none but that food which is heavenly: he instructeth them, that as in the one place they use to refresh their bodies, so they may in the other learn to seek the nourishment of their souls; and as there they sustain temporal life, so here they would learn to make provision for the eternal. Christ could not suffer that the Temple should serve for a place of mart, nor the Apostle of Christ that the church should be made an inn.

When, therefore, we sanctify and hallow churches, that which we do is only to testify that we make them places of public resort, that we invest God himself with them, that we sever them from common uses. In which action, other solemnities than such as are decent and fit for that purpose we approve none.

Indeed, we condemn not all as unmeet, the like whereunto have either been devised or used haply amongst idolaters. For why should conformity with them in matter of opinion be lawful when they think

^a Lev. xxvi. 2.

^b 1 Cor. xi. 22.

^c *Pet. Cluniac.*

that which is true; if in action, when they do that which is meet, it be not lawful to be like unto them? Are we to forsake any true opinion because idolaters have maintained it? Nor to shun any requisite action only because we have in the practice thereof been prevented by idolaters? It is no impossible thing but that sometimes they may judge as rightly what is decent about such external affairs of God, as in greater things what is true. Not, therefore, whatsoever idolaters have either thought or done, but let whatsoever they have either thought or done *idolatrously* be *so far forth* abhorred. For of that which is good even in evil things God is author.

XIII. Touching the names of angels and saints whereby the most of our churches are called; as the custom of so naming them is very ancient, so neither was the cause thereof at the first, nor is the use and continuance with us at this present, hurtful. That churches were consecrated unto none but the Lord only, the very general name itself doth sufficiently show, inasmuch as, by plain grammatical construction, church doth signify no other thing than the Lord's house.^a And because the multitude as of persons so of things particular causeth variety of proper names to be devised for distinction sake, founders of churches did herein that which best liked their own conceit at the present time; yet each intending that as oft as those buildings came to be mentioned, the name should put men in mind of some memorable thing or person.

^a From *Κυριακή*, *Kyrc*, and by adding letters of aspiration, *Chyrch*.

Thus, therefore, it cometh to pass that all churches have had their names, some as memorials of Peace, some of Wisdom, some in memory of the Trinity itself, some of Christ, under sundry titles, of the blessed Virgin not a few, many of one Apostle, Saint, or Martyr, many of all.^a

In which respect their commendable purpose being not of every one understood, they have been in latter ages construed as though they had superstitiously meant, either that those places which were denominated of angels and saints should serve for the worship of so glorious creatures, or else those glorified creatures for defence, protection, and patronage of such places: a thing which the ancients do utterly disclaim. "To them^b," saith St. Augustine, "we appoint no churches, because they are not to us as Gods." Again^c: "The nations to their gods erected temples; we not temples to our martyrs as unto gods, but memorials as unto dead men, whose spirits with God are still living."^d

Divers considerations there are, for which Christian churches might first take their names of saints: as either because by the ministry of saints it pleased God there to show some rare effect of his power; or else in regard of death, which those saints having suffered for the testimony of Jesus Christ, did thereby make the places where they died venerable; or, thirdly, for that

^a Vid. Socr. lib. i. c. 16. *Evagr.* lib. iv. c. 31. *Hist. Trip.* lib. iv. c. 18.

^b Vid. Aug. lib. viii. de Civ. Dei, c. 27.

^c Ibid. lib. xxii. c. 10. Epist. 49. *ad Deogra.* [Epist. 102. vol. ii. p. 280.]

^d The duty which Christian men performed in keeping festival dedications, St. Basil termeth *λατρείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ*, acknowledging the same to have been withal *τιμὴν εἰς τοὺς Μάρτυρας*. Basil, in Psalm cxiv.

it liked good and virtuous men to give such occasion of mentioning them often, to the end that the naming of their persons might cause inquiry to be made, and meditation to be had of their virtues. Wherefore, seeing that we cannot justly account it superstition to give unto churches those fore-rehearsed names, as memorials either of holy persons or things, if it be plain that their founders did with such meaning name them, shall not we in otherwise taking them offer them injury? Or if it be obscure or uncertain what they meant, yet this construction being more favourable, charity, I hope, constraineth no man which standeth doubtful of their minds, to lean to the hardest and worst interpretation that their words can carry.

Yea, although it were clear that they all (for the error of some is manifest in this behalf) had therein a superstitious intent, wherefore should their fault prejudice us, who (as all men know) do use but by way of mere distinction the names which they of superstition gave? In the use of those names whereby we distinguish both days and months, are we culpable of superstition, because they were who first invented them? The sign of Castor and Pollux superstitiously given unto that ship wherein the Apostle sailed, polluteth not the Evangelist's pen, who thereby doth but distinguish that ship from others.^a If to Daniel there had been given no other name but only Belteshazzar, given him in honour of the Babylonian idol Belti^b, should their idolatry which were the authors of that

Acts, xxviii. 11.

^b Dan. iv. 8. Vide *Scal. de Emendat. Temp.* lib. vi. p. 277.

name cleave unto every man which had so termed him by way of personal difference only? Were it not to satisfy the minds of the simpler sort of men, these nice curiosities are not worthy the labour which we bestow to answer them.

XIV. The like unto this is a fancy which they have against the fashion of our churches, as being framed according to the pattern of the Jewish temple. A fault no less grievous, if so be it were true, than if some king should build his mansion-house by the model of Solomon's palace. So far forth as our churches and their temple have one end, what should let but that they may lawfully have one form? The Temple was for sacrifice, and therefore had rooms to that purpose, such as ours have none. Our churches are places provided that the people might there assemble themselves in due and decent manner, according to their several degrees and orders. Which thing being common unto us with Jews, we have in this respect our churches divided by certain partitions, although not so many in number as theirs. They had their several for heathen nations, their several for the people of their own nation, their several for men, their several for women, their several for their priests, and for the high-priest alone their several. There being in ours, for local distinction between the clergy and the rest (which yet we do not with any great strictness or curiosity observe neither), but one partition; the cause whereof at the first (as it seemeth) was, that as many as were capable of the holy mysteries might there assemble themselves, and no other creep in amongst them. This

is now made a matter so heinous, as if our religion thereby were become even plain Judaism, and as though we retained a "most holy place," whereinto there might not any but the high-priest alone enter, according to the custom of the Jews.

XV. Some it highly displeaseth, that so great expenses this way are employed. "The mother of such magnificence (they think) is but a proud ambitious desire to be spoken of far and wide. Suppose we that God himself delighteth to dwell sumptuously, or taketh pleasure in chargeable pomp? No; then was the Lord most acceptably served, when his temples were rooms borrowed within the houses of poor men. This was suitable unto the nakedness of Jesus Christ and the simplicity of his Gospel."

What thoughts or cogitations they had which were authors of those things, the use and benefit whereof hath descended unto ourselves, as we do not know, so we need not search. It cometh, we grant, many times to pass, that the works of men being the same, their drifts and purposes therein are divers. The charge of Herod about the temple of God was ambitious; yet Solomon's virtuous, Constantine's holy. But howsoever their hearts are disposed by whom any such thing is done in the world, shall we think that it baneth the work which they leave behind them, or taketh away from others the use and benefit thereof?

Touching God himself, hath he any where revealed that it is his delight to dwell beggarly? And that he taketh no pleasure to be worshipped saving only in poor cottages? Even then was the Lord as acceptably

honoured of his people as ever, when the stateliest places and things in the whole world were sought out to adorn his temple. This is most suitable^a, decent, and fit for the greatness of Jesus Christ, for the sublimity of his Gospel; except we think of Christ and his Gospel as the officers of Julian did.^b As therefore the son of Sirach giveth verdict concerning those things which God hath wrought, “A man need not say, ‘This is worse than that, this more acceptable to God, that less;’ for in their season they are all worthy praise^c:” the like we may also conclude as touching these two so contrary ways of providing in meaner or in costlier sort for the honour of Almighty God: “A man need not say, ‘This is worse than that, this more acceptable to God, that less;’ for with him they are in their season both allowable:” the one when the state of the Church is poor, the other when God hath enriched it with plenty.

When they, which had seen the beauty of the first Temple built by Solomon in the days of his great prosperity and peace, beheld how far it excelled the second, which had not builders of like ability, the tears of their grieved eyes the prophets endeavoured with comforts to wipe away.^d Whereas if the house of God were by so much the more perfect by how much the glory thereof is less, they should have done better to

^a Ἔργον δὲ τὸ μέγα καὶ καλόν· τοῦ γὰρ τοιούτου ἡ θεωρία θαυμαστή. *Aristot. Eth.* lib. iv. c. 2. Τὰ αἰσθήσει καλὰ καὶ νοήσει καλῶν εἰκόνες. *Philo Jud.*

^b “Fœlix, thesauri imperialis quæstor, conspicatus sacrorum vasorum pretia; En, inquit, qualibus vasis ministratur Mariæ filio!” *Theodoret. Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. c. 12.

^c *Eccles.* xxxix. 34. ^d Hag. ii. 5, 10.

rejoice than weep, their prophets better to reprove than comfort.

It being objected against the Church in the times of universal persecution, that her service done to God was not solemnly performed in temples fit for the honour of Divine Majesty, their most convenient answer was, that "the best temples which we can dedicate to God are our sanctified souls and bodies."^a Whereby it plainly appeareth how the Fathers, when they were upbraided with that defect, comforted themselves with the meditation of God's most gracious and merciful nature, who did not therefore the less accept of their hearty affection and zeal, rather than took any great delight, or imagined any high perfection in such their want of external ornaments, which, when they wanted, the cause was their only lack of ability; ability serving, they wanted them not. Before the emperor Constantine's time^b, under Severus, Gordian, Philip, and Galienus, the state of Christian affairs being tolerable, the former buildings, which were but of mean and small estate, contented them not; spacious and ample churches they erected throughout every city. No envy was able to be their hinderance, no practice of Satan or fraud of men available against their proceedings herein, while they continued as yet worthy to feel the aid of the arm of God extended over them for their safety. These churches Dioclesian caused by solemn edict to be afterwards overthrown. Maximinus with like authority giving them leave to erect them, the hearts of men were even rapt with divine joy, to see those places, which tyrannous impiety had,

^a *Minuc. Fel. in Octav.*

^b *Euseb. lib. viii. c. 1.*

laid waste, recovered as it were out of mortal calamity, churches “reared up to an height immeasurable, and adorned with far more beauty in their restoration, than their founders before had given them.”^a Whereby we see how most Christian minds then stood affected; we see how joyful they were to behold the sumptuous stateliness of houses built unto God’s glory.

If we should, over and besides this, allege the care which was had, that all things about the tabernacle of Moses might be as beautiful, gorgeous, and rich, as art could make them; or what travel and cost were bestowed that the goodness of the Temple might be a spectacle of admiration to all the world: this they will say was figurative, and served by God’s appointment but for a time, to shadow out the true everlasting glory of a more divine sanctuary; whereinto Christ being long since entered, it seemeth that all those curious exornations should rather cease. Which thing we also ourselves would grant, if the use thereof had been merely and only mystical. But sith the Prophet David doth mention a natural conveniency which such kind of bounteous expenses have, as well for that we do thereby give unto God a testimony of our cheerful affection, which thinketh nothing too dear to be bestowed about the furniture of his service^b; as also because it serveth to the world for a witness of his almightiness, whom we outwardly honour with the chiefest of outward things, as being of all things himself incomparably the greatest.^c Besides, were it not also strange, if God should have made such store of

^a *Euseb.* lib. x. c. 2.

^b 1 Chron. xxviii. 14.

^c 2 Chron. ii. 5.

glorious creatures on earth, and leave them all to be consumed in secular vanity, allowing none but the baser sort to be employed in his own service? To set forth the majesty of kings^a, his vicegerents, in this world, the most gorgeous and rare treasures which the world hath are procured. We think belike that he will accept what the meanest of them would disdain.^b

If there be great care to build and beautify these corruptible sanctuaries, little or none that the living temples of the Holy Ghost, the redeemed souls of the people of God, may be edified; huge expenses upon timber and stone, but towards the relief of the poor small devotion; cost this way infinite, and in the meanwhile charity cold: we have in such case just occasion to make complaint as St. Jerome did, "The walls of the church there are enow contented to build, and to underset it with goodly pillars, the marbles are polished, the roofs shine with gold, the altar hath precious stones to adorn it; and of Christ's ministers no choice at all."^c The same Jerome, both in that place and elsewhere^d, debaseth with like intent the glory of such magnificence (a thing whereunto men's affections in those times needed no spur), thereby to extol the necessity sometimes of charity and alms, sometimes of other the most principal duties belonging unto Christian men; which duties were neither so highly esteemed as they ought, and being compared with that in question, the directest sentence we can give of them both, as unto me it seemeth, is this: "God, who requireth the one as

^a Mat. vi. 29.^b Malac. i. 8.^c *Ad Nepotian. de Vita Cleric.*^d *Ad Demetriad. Ad Gaudentium; Epist. 12.*

necessary, accepteth the other also as being an honourable work."

XVI. Our opinion concerning the force and virtue which such places have is, I trust, without any blemish or stain of heresy. Churches receive, as every thing else, their chief perfection from the end whereunto they serve. Which end being the public worship of God, they are in this consideration houses of greater dignity than any provided for meaner purposes. For which cause they seem after a sort even to mourn, as being injured and defrauded of their right, when places not sanctified as they are prevent them *unnecessarily* in that pre-eminence and honour. Whereby also it doth come to pass, that the service of God hath not then itself such perfection of grace and comeliness, as when the dignity of place which it wisheth for doth concur.

Again, albeit the true worship of God be to God in itself acceptable, who respecteth not so much in what place, as with what affection he is served; and therefore Moses in the midst of the sea, Job on the dung-hill, Ezechias in bed, Jeremy in mire, Jonas in the whale, Daniel in the den, the children in the furnace, the thief on the cross, Peter and Paul in prison, calling unto God were heard, as St. Basil noteth^a: manifest notwithstanding it is, that the very majesty and holiness of the place where God is worshipped hath, *in regard of us*, great virtue, force, and efficacy, for that it serveth as a sensible help to stir up devotion, and *in that respect* no doubt *bettereth* even our holiest and best actions in this kind. As therefore we every where

^a *Exhort. ad Bap. et Pœnitent.*

exhort all men to worship God, even so, for performance of this service by the people of God assembled, we think not any place *so good* as the church, neither any exhortation so fit as that of David, “O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness.”^a

XVII. For of our churches thus it becometh us to esteem, howsoever others, rapt with the pang of a furious zeal, do pour out against them devout blasphemies, crying, “Down with them, down with them, even to the very ground^b: for to idolatry they have been abused. And the places where idols have been worshipped are by the law of God devoted to utter destruction.^c For execution of which law the kings that were godly, Asa, Jehoshaphat^d, Ezechia^e, Josiah^f, destroyed all the high places, altars, and groves, which had been erected in Judah and Israel. He that said, ‘Thou shalt have no other gods before my face,’ hath likewise said, ‘Thou shalt utterly deface and destroy all these synagogues and places where such idols have been worshipped.’ This law containeth the temporal punishment which God hath set down, and willeth that men execute, for the breach of the other law. They which spare them, therefore, do but reserve, as the hypocrite Saul did, execrable things, to worship God withal.”

The truth is, that as no man serveth God, and loveth him not; so neither can any man sincerely love God, and not extremely abhor that sin, which is the highest degree of treason against the supreme Guide and Monarch of the whole world, with whose divine

^a Psalm xvi. 9.

^c Deut. xii. 2.

^e 2 Chron xxix. 5.

^b Psalm cxxxvii. 7.

^d 2 Chron. xvii. 6.

^f 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3.

authority and power it investeth others. By means whereof the state of idolaters is two ways miserable. First, in that which they worship they find no succour^a; and, secondly, at his hands whom they ought to serve, there is no other thing to be looked for but the effects of most just displeasure, the withdrawing of grace^b, dereliction in this world^c, and in the world to come confusion.^d Paul and Barnabas, when infidels, admiring their virtues, went about to sacrifice unto them, rent their garments in token of horror, and as frightened persons ran crying through the press of the people, “O men, wherefore do ye these things?”^e They knew the force of that dreadful curse^f whereunto idolatry maketh subject. Nor is there cause why the guilty sustaining the same should grudge or complain of injustice. For whatsoever befalleth in that respect^g, themselves have made themselves worthy to suffer it.

As for those things either *whereon* or else *wherewith* superstition worketh, polluted they are by such *abuse*, and deprived of that dignity which their nature delighteth in. For there is nothing which doth not grieve, and as it were even loathe itself, whensoever iniquity causeth it to serve unto vile purposes. Idolatry therefore maketh whatsoever it toucheth the worse. Howbeit, sith creatures which have no understanding can show no will; and where no will is, there is no sin; and only that which sinneth is subject to *punishment*: which way should any such creature be *punishable*

^a Isa. viii. 21. xlv. 20. Hos. xiv. 4.

^b Psalm lxxxi. 13. Rom. i. 24.

^d Apoc. xxi. 8. Isa. ii. 21.

^f Deut. xxviii. 20.

Isa. xli. 24. Psalm cxv. 8.

^e Judic. vi. 13.

^c Acts, xiv. 14.

^g Jer. ii. 17.

by the law of God? There may be cause sometimes to *abolish* or to *extinguish* them; but surely never by way of punishment *to the things themselves*.

Yea, farther, howsoever the law of Moses did punish idolaters, we find not that God hath appointed for us any definite or *certain temporal judgment*, which the Christian magistrate is *of necessity for ever* bound to execute upon *offenders* in that kind, much less upon *things* that way abused as mere *instruments*. For what God did command touching Canaan, the same concerneth not us any otherwise than only as a fearful pattern of his just displeasure and wrath against sinful nations. It teacheth us how *God thought good* to plague and afflict them: it doth not appoint in what form and manner *we ought* to punish the sin of idolatry *in all others*. Unless they will say, that because the Israelites were commanded to make no covenant with the people of that land, therefore leagues and truces made between superstitious persons and such as serve God aright are unlawful altogether; or because God commanded the Israelites to smite the inhabitants of Canaan, and to root them out, that therefore reformed churches are bound to put all others to the edge of the sword.

Now, whereas commandment was also given to destroy *all places* where the Canaanites had served their gods^a, and not to convert any one of them to the honour of the true God: this precept had reference unto a special intent and purpose, which was, that there should be but *one only place* in the whole land, whereunto the people might bring such offerings, gifts, and

^a Deut. xii. 2.

sacrifices, as their Levitical law did require. By which law, severe charge was given them in that respect not to convert *those places* to the worship of the living God, where nations before them had served idols, “but to seek the place which the Lord their God should choose out of all their tribes.”^a

Besides, it is reason we should likewise consider how great a difference there is between their proceedings, who erect a new commonwealth, which is to have neither people nor law, neither regimen nor religion the same that was; and theirs who only reform a decayed estate, by reducing it to that perfection from which it hath swerved. In this case we are to retain as much, in the other as little, of former things as we may.

Sith, therefore, examples have not *generally* the force of laws which all men ought to keep, but of counsels only, and persuasions not amiss to be followed by them whose case is the like; surely, where cases are so unlike as theirs and ours, I see not how that which they did should induce, much less any way enforce, us to the same practice; especially considering that groves and hill altars were, while they did remain, both dangerous in regard of the secret access which people superstitiously given might have always thereunto with ease, neither could they, remaining, serve with any fitness unto better purpose: whereas our temples (their former abuse being by order of law removed) are not only free from such peril, but withal so conveniently framed for the people of God to serve and honour him therein,

^a Deut. xii. 4, 5. :

that no man beholding them can choose but think it exceeding great pity they should be ever any otherwise employed.

“Yea, but the cattle of Amalek,” you will say, “were *fit* for sacrifice; and this was the very conceit which some time deceived Saul.” It was so. Nor do I any thing doubt but that Saul upon this conceit might even lawfully have offered to God those reserved spoils, had not the Lord *in that particular case* given *special charge* to the contrary.

As therefore, notwithstanding the commandment of Israel to destroy Canaanites, idolaters may be converted and live: so the temples which have served idolatry as instruments may be sanctified again and continue, albeit to Israel commandment have been given that *they* should destroy all idolatrous places *in their land*, and to the good kings of Israel commendation for fulfilling, to the evil for disobeying, the same commandment, sometimes punishment, always sharp and severe reproof, hath even from the Lord himself befallen.

Thus much it may suffice to have written in defence of those Christian oratories, the overthrow and ruin whereof is desired, not now by infidels, Pagans, or Turks, but by a special refined sect of Christian believers, pretending themselves exceedingly grieved at our solemnities in erecting churches, at the names which we suffer them to hold, at their form and fashion, at the stateliness of them and costliness, at the opinion which we have of them, and at the manifold superstitious abuses whereunto they have been put.

ECCLESIASTICAL POLICY THE BEST POLICY ;

OR,

RELIGION THE BEST REASON OF STATE.

[ROBERT SOUTH, D.D.]

1 KINGS, xiii. 33, 34.

After this thing Jeroboam returned not from his evil way, but made again of the lowest of the people priests of the high places : whosoever would, he consecrated him, and he became one of the priests of the high places. And this thing became sin unto the house of Jeroboam, even to cut it off and to destroy it from off the face of the earth.

JEROBOAM (from the name of a person become the character of impiety) is reported to posterity eminent, or rather infamous, for two things ; usurpation of government, and innovation of religion. It is confessed the former is expressly said to have been from God ; but since God may order and dispose what he does not approve, and use the wickedness of men while he forbids it, the design of the first cause does not excuse the malignity of the second : and therefore the advancement and sceptre of Jeroboam was in that sense only the work of God, in which it is said, Amos, iii. 6., “ That there is no evil in the city which the Lord hath not

done." But from his attempts upon the civil power, he proceeds to innovate upon God's worship, and from the subjection of men's bodies and estates, to enslave their consciences, as knowing that true religion is no friend to an unjust title. Such was afterwards the way of Mahomet, to the tyrant to join the impostor, and what he had got by the sword to confirm by the Alcoran ; raising his empire upon two pillars, conquest and inspiration. Jeroboam being thus advanced, and thinking policy the best piety, though indeed in nothing ever more befooled, the nature of sin being not only to defile, but to infatuate. In the 12th chap. and the 27th ver., he thus argues : " If this people go on to do sacrifice in the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, then shall the heart of this people turn again unto the Lord, even unto Rehoboam king of Judah ; and they shall kill me, and go again unto Rehoboam king of Judah." As if he should have said, the true worship of God, and the converse of those that use it, dispose men to a considerate lawful subjection. And therefore I must take another course : my practice must not be better than my title ; what was won by force must be continued by delusion. Thus sin is usually seconded with sin, and a man seldom commits one sin to please, but he commits another to defend himself ; as it is frequent for the adulterer to commit murder to conceal the shame of his adultery. But let us see Jeroboam's politic procedure in the next verse. " Whereupon the king took counsel, and made two calves of gold, and said unto them, It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem, behold thy gods, O Israel." As if he had made such an edict : ' I, Jeroboam, by the advice of

my council, considering the great distance of the Temple, and the great charges that poor people are put to in going thither, as also the intolerable burden of paying the first-fruits and tithes to the priests, have considered of a way that may be more easy, and less burdensome to the people, as also more comfortable to the priests themselves; and therefore strictly enjoin that none henceforth presume to repair to the Temple at Jerusalem, especially since God is not tied to any place or form of worship; as also because the devotion of men is apt to be clogged by such ceremonies: therefore, both for the ease of the people, as well as for the advancement of religion, we require and command that all henceforth forbear going up to Jerusalem.' Questionless these, and such other reasons, the impostor used to insinuate his devout idolatry. And thus the calves were set up to which oxen must be sacrificed; the god and the sacrifice out of the same herd. And because Israel was not to return to Egypt, Egypt was brought back to them: that is, the Egyptian way of worship, the Apis or Serapis, which was nothing but the image of a calf or ox, as is clear from most historians. Thus Jeroboam having procured his people gods, the next thing was to provide priests. Hereupon, to the calves he adds a commission, for the approving, trying, and admitting the rascality and lowest of the people to minister in that service; such as kept cattle, with a little change of their office, were admitted to make oblations to them. And doubtless, besides the approbation of these, there was a commission also to eject such of the priests and Levites of God, as, being too ceremoniously addicted to the Temple,

would not serve Jeroboam before God, nor worship his calves for their gold, nor approve those two glittering sins for any reason of state whatsoever. Having now perfected divine worship, and prepared both gods and priests; in the next place, that he might the better teach his false priests the way of their new worship, he begins the service himself, and so countenances by his example what he had enjoined by his command; in the 11th ver. of this chapter, “And Jeroboam stood by the altar to burn incense.” Burning of incense was then the ministerial office amongst them, as preaching is now amongst us. So that to represent to you the nature of Jeroboam’s action, it was as if in a Christian nation the chief governor should authorise and encourage all the scum and refuse of the people to preach, and call them to the ministry, by using to preach^a, and invade the ministerial function himself. But Jeroboam rested not here; but while he was busy in his work, and a prophet immediately sent by God declares against his idolatry, he endeavours to seize upon and commit him; in the 4th ver., “He held forth his hand from the altar, and said, Lay hold of him.” Thus we have him completing his sin, and by a strange imposition of hands persecuting the true prophets as well as ordaining false. But it was a natural transition, and no ways wonderful to see him, who stood affronting God with false incense in the right hand, persecuting with the left, and abetting the idolatry of one arm with the violence of the other. Now, if we lay all these things together, and consider the parts, rise, and degrees of his sin, we shall find that it was not for

^a Cromwell (a lively copy of Jeroboam) did so,

nothing that the Spirit of God so frequently and bitterly in Scripture stigmatises this person; for it represents him, first encroaching upon the civil government, thence changing that of the Church, debasing the office that God had made sacred; introducing a false way of worship, and destroying the true. And in this we have a full and fair description of a foul thing; that is, of an usurper and an impostor: or, to use one word more comprehensive than both, of “Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin.”

From the story and practice of Jeroboam we might gather these observations: —

1. That God sometimes punishes a notorious sin, by suffering the sinner to fall into a worse.

Thus God punished the rebellion of the Israelites by permitting them to fall into idolatry.

2. There is nothing so absurd but may be obtruded upon the vulgar under pretence of religion.

Certainly, otherwise, a golden calf could never have been made either the object or the means of divine worship.

3. Sin, especially that of perverting God's worship, as it leaves a guilt upon the soul, so it perpetuates a blot upon the name.

Hence nothing so frequent, as for the Spirit of God to express wicked, irreligious kings, by comparing them to Ahab or Jeroboam: it being usual to make the first and most eminent in any kind, not only the standard for comparison, but also the rule of expression.

But I shall insist only upon the words of the text,

and what shall be drawn from thence. There are two things in the words that may seem to require explication.

I. What is meant by the high places.

II. What by the consecration of the priests.

1. Concerning the high places. The use of these in the divine worship was general and ancient; and, as Dionysius Vossius observes in his notes upon Moses Maimonides, the first way that was used long before temples were either built or thought lawful. The reason of this seems to be, because those places did not shut up or confine the immensity of God, as they thought a house did, and withal it gave his worshippers a nearer approach to heaven by their height. Hence we read that the Samaritans worshipped upon Mount Gerizim, John, iv. 20. And Samuel went up to the high place to sacrifice, 1 Sam. ix. 14. And Solomon sacrificed at the high place in Gibeon, 1 Kings, iii. 4. Yea, the Temple itself was at length built upon a mount or high place, 2 Chron. iii. 1. You will say, then, why are these places condemned? I answer, that the use of them was not condemned, as absolutely and always unlawful in itself, but only after the Temple was built, and that God had professed to put his name in that place, and no other. Therefore, what was lawful in the practice of Samuel and Solomon before the Temple was in being, was now detestable in Jeroboam, since it was constituted by God the only place for his worship. To bring this consideration to the times of Christianity: Because the apostles and primitive Christians preached in houses, and had only private meetings, in regard

they were under persecution, and had no churches ; this cannot warrant the practice of those now-a-days, that prefer houses before churches, and a conventicle before the congregation.

2. For the second thing, which is the consecration of the priests ; it seems to have been correspondent to ordination in the Christian Church. Idolaters themselves were not so far gone, as to venture upon the priesthood without consecration and a call. To show all the solemnities of this would be tedious, and here unnecessary. The Hebrew word which we render *to consecrate*, signifies *to fill the hand*, which, indeed, imports the manner of consecration, which was done by filling the hand : for the priest cut a piece of the sacrifice, and put it into the hands of him that was to be consecrated ; by which ceremony he received right to sacrifice, and so become a priest ; as our ordination in the Christian Church is performed by the bishop's delivering of the Bible into the hands of him that is to be ordained, whereby he receives power ministerially to dispense the mysteries contained in it, and so is made a presbyter. Thus much briefly concerning consecration.

There remains nothing else to be explained in the words. I shall therefore now draw forth the sense of them into these two propositions : —

I. The surest means to strengthen, or the readiest to ruin the civil power, is either to establish, or destroy the worship of God in the right exercise of religion.

II. The next, and most effectual way to destroy religion, is to embase the teachers and dispensers of it,

Of both these in their order.

For the prosecution of the former, we are to show,

1. The truth of the assertion, that it is so.

2. The reason of the assertion, why and whence it is so.

1. For the truth of it; it is abundantly evinced from all records, both of divine and profane history, in which he that runs may read the ruin of the State in the destruction of the Church; and that not only portended by it as its sign, but also inferred from it as its cause.

2. For the reason of the point; it may be drawn,

1. From the judicial proceeding of God, the great King of kings, and supreme Ruler of the universe; who for his commands is indeed careful, but for his worship jealous: and therefore, in states notoriously irreligious, by a secret and irresistible power, countermands their deepest projects, splits their counsels, and smites their most refined policies with frustration and a curse: being resolved that the kingdoms of the world shall fall down before him, either in his adoration, or their own confusion.

2. The reason of the doctrine may be drawn from the necessary dependence of the very principles of government upon religion. And this I shall pursue more fully. The great business of government is to procure obedience, and keep off disobedience; the great springs upon which those two move are rewards and punishments, answering the two ruling affections of man's mind, hope and fear. For, since there is a natural opposition between the judgment and the appetite, the

former respecting what is honest, the latter what is pleasing, which two qualifications seldom concur in the same thing, and withal man's design in every action is delight; therefore, to render things honest also practicable, they must be first represented desirable, which cannot be but by proposing honesty clothed with pleasure; and since it presents no pleasure to the sense, it must be fetched from the apprehension of a future reward. For, questionless, duty moves not so much upon command as promise. Now, therefore, that which proposes the greatest and most suitable rewards to obedience, and the greatest terrors and punishments to disobedience, doubtless is the most likely to enforce one and prevent the other. But it is religion that does this, — which to happiness and misery joins eternity. And these, supposing the immortality of the soul, which philosophy, indeed, conjectures, but only religion proves, or (which is as good) persuades:—I say, these two things, eternal happiness and eternal misery, meeting with a persuasion that the soul is immortal, are, without controversy, of all others, the first the most desirable, and the latter the most horrible to human apprehensions. Were it not for these, civil government were not able to stand before the prevailing swing of corrupt nature, which would know no honesty but advantage, no duty but in pleasure, nor any law but its own will. Were not these frequently thundered into the understandings of men, the magistrate might enact, order, and proclaim; proclamations might be hung upon walls and posts, and there they might hang, seen and despised, more like malefactors than laws; but when religion binds them

upon the conscience, conscience will either persuade or terrify men into their practice. For, put the case: a man knew, and that upon sure grounds, that he might do an advantageous murder or robbery, and not be discovered; what human laws could hinder him, which he knows cannot inflict any penalty, where they can make no discovery? But religion assures him that no sin, though concealed from human eyes, can either escape God's sight in this world, or his vengeance in the other. Put the case, also, that men looked upon death without fear, in which sense it is nothing, or, at most, very little; ceasing while it is endured, and probably without pain, for it seizes upon the vitals, and benumbs the senses, and where there is no sense there can be no pain. I say, if while a man is acting his will towards sin, he should also thus act his reason to despise death, where would be the terror of the magistrate, who can neither threaten nor inflict any more? Hence an old malefactor, in his execution at the gallows, made no other confession but this, "That he had very jocundly passed over his life in such courses; and he that would not for fifty years' pleasure endure half an hour's pain, deserved to die a worse death than himself." Questionless, this man was not ignorant before that there were such things as laws, assizes, and gallows: but had he considered and believed the terrors of another world, he might probably have found a fairer passage out of this. If there was not a minister in every parish, you would quickly find cause to increase the number of constables; and if the churches were not employed to be places to hear God's law, there would be need of them to be prisons

for the breakers of the laws of men. Hence it is observable, that the tribe of Levi had not one place or portion together like the rest of the tribes; but, because it was their office to dispense religion, they were diffused over all the tribes, that they might be continually preaching to the rest their duty to God, which is the most effectual way to dispose them to obedience to man; for he that truly fears God cannot despise the magistrate. Yea, so near is the connection between the civil state and religious, that heretofore, if you look upon well-regulated civilised heathen nations, you will find the government and the priesthood united in the same person; — *Anius Rex idem hominum, Phœbique Sacerdos*. Virg. *Æn.* iii. If, under the true worship of God, Melchisedec, king of Salem, and priest of the most high God (Heb. vii. 1.); and afterwards Moses (whom as we acknowledge a pious, so atheists themselves will confess to have been a wise prince), he, when he took the kingly government upon himself by his own choice, seconded by divine institution, vested the priesthood in his brother Aaron, both whose concernments were so coupled, that if nature had not, yet their religious, nay, their civil interests, would have made them brothers. And it was once the design of the emperor of Germany, Maximilian the First, to have joined the popedom and the empire together, and to have got himself chosen pope, and by that means derived the papacy to his succeeding emperors. Had he effected it, doubtless there would not have been such scuffles between them and the bishop of Rome; the civil interest of the state would not have been undermined by an adverse interest, managed by

the specious and potent pretences of religion. And to see, even amongst us, how these two are united, how the former is upheld by the latter. The magistrate sometimes cannot do his own office dexterously but by acting the minister; hence it is that judges of assizes find it necessary in their charges to use pathetical discourses of conscience: and if it were not for the sway of this, they would often lose the best evidence in the world against malefactors, which is confession; for no man would confess and be hanged here but to avoid being damned hereafter. Thus I have, in general, shown the utter inability of the magistrate to attain the ends of government without the aid of religion. But it may be here replied, that many are not at all moved with arguments drawn from hence, or with the happy or miserable state of the soul after death; and therefore this avails little to procure obedience, and, consequently, to advance government. I answer, by confession, that this is true of epicures, atheists, and some pretended philosophers, who have stifled the notions of a Deity, and the soul's immortality; but the unprepossessed on the one hand, and the well-disposed on the other, who, both together, make much the major part of the world, are very apt to be affected with a due fear of these things; and religion, accommodating itself to the generality, though not to every particular temper, sufficiently secures government, inasmuch as that stands or falls according to the behaviour of the multitude. And whatsoever conscience makes the generality obey, to that prudence will make the rest conform. Wherefore, having proved the dependence of government upon religion, I shall now

demonstrate that the safety of the government depends upon the truth of religion. False religion is in its nature the greatest bane and destruction to government in the world. The reason is, because whatsoever is false is also weak. *Ens* and *verum* in philosophy are the same ; and so much as any religion has of falsity, it loses of strength and existence. Falsity gains authority only from ignorance, and therefore is in danger to be known ; for, from being false, the next immediate step is to be known to be such. And what prejudice this would be to the civil government is apparent if men should be awed into obedience and affrighted from sin by rewards and punishments proposed to them in such a religion which afterwards should be detected, and found a mere falsity and cheat ; for if one part be but found to be false, it will make the whole suspicious ; and men will then not only cast off obedience to the civil magistrate, but they will do it with disdain and rage that they have been deceived so long, and brought to do that out of conscience which was imposed upon them out of design ; for though men are often willingly deceived, yet still it must be under an opinion of being instructed ; though they love the deception, yet they mortally hate it under that appearance ; therefore it is no ways safe for a magistrate, who is to build his dominion upon the fears of men, to build those fears upon a false religion. It is not to be doubted, but the absurdity of Jeroboam's calves made many Israelites turn subjects to Rehoboam's government, that they might be proselytes to his religion. Herein the weakness of the Turkish religion appears : that it urges obedience upon the promise

of such absurd rewards, as that, after death, they should have palaces, gardens, beautiful women, with all the luxury that could be ; as if those things that were the occasions and incentives of sin in this world, could be the rewards of holiness in the other ; besides many other inventions, false and absurd, that are like so many chinks and holes to discover the rottenness of the whole fabric, when God shall be pleased to give light to discover and open their reasons to discern them. But you will say, What government more sure and absolute than the Turkish, and yet what religion more false ? Therefore, certainly, government may stand sure and strong, be the religion professed never so absurd. I answer, that it may do so, indeed, by accident, through the strange peculiar temper and gross ignorance of a people ; as we see it happens in the Turks, the best part of whose policy, supposing the absurdity of their religion, is this, that they prohibit schools of learning ; for this hinders knowledge and disputes, which such a religion would not bear. But, suppose we that the learning of these western nations were as great there as here, and the Alcoran as common to them as the Bible to us, that they might have free recourse to search and examine the flaws and follies of it, and, withal, that they were of as inquisitive a temper as we : and who knows but, as there are vicissitudes in the government, so there may happen the same also in the temper of a nation ? If this should come to pass, where would be their religion ? And then let every one judge whether the *arcana imperii* and *religionis* would not fall together. They have begun to totter already ;

for Mahomet having promised to come and visit his followers and translate them to paradise after a thousand years, this being expired, many of the Persians began to doubt and smell the cheat, till the mufti, or chief priest, told them that it was a mistake in the figure, and assured them that, upon more diligent survey of the records, he found it two thousand instead of one. When this is expired, perhaps they will not be able so easily to renew the fallacy. I say, therefore, that though this government continues firm in the exercise of a false religion, yet this is by accident, through the present genius of the people, which may change; but this does not prove, but that the nature of such a religion (of which we only now speak) tends to subvert and betray the civil power. Hence, Machiavel himself, in his animadversions upon Livy, makes it appear that the weakness of Italy, which was once so strong, was caused by the corrupt practices of the papacy in depraving and misusing religion to that purpose, which he, though himself a papist, says, could not have happened, had the Christian religion been kept in its first and native simplicity. Thus much may suffice for the clearing of the first proposition.

The inferences from hence are two: —

I. If government depends upon religion, then this shows the pestilential design of those that attempt to disjoin the civil and ecclesiastical interests, setting the latter wholly out of the tuition of the former. But it is clear that the fanatics know no other step to the magistracy but through the ruin of the ministry. There is a great analogy between the body natural and politic, in

which the ecclesiastical or spiritual part justly supplies the part of the soul; and the violent separation of this from the other does as certainly infer death and dissolution as the disjunction of the body and the soul in the natural; for when this once departs, it leaves the body of the commonwealth a carcass, noisome and exposed, to be devoured by birds of prey. The ministry will be, one day, found, according to Christ's word, the salt of the earth, the only thing that keeps societies of men from stench and corruption. These two interests are of that nature that it is to be feared they cannot be divided; but they will also prove opposite, and, not resting in bare diversity, quickly rise into a contrariety. These two are to the state what the elements of fire and water are to the body; which, united, compose,—separated, destroy it. I am not of the Papist's opinion, who would make the spiritual above the civil state, in power as well as dignity, but rather subject it to the civil; yet thus much I dare affirm, that the civil, which is superior, is upheld and kept in being by the ecclesiastical and inferior; as it is in a building, where the upper part is supported by the lower; the Church resembling the foundation, which, indeed, is the lowest part, but the most considerable. The magistracy cannot so much protect the ministry, but the ministers may do more in serving the magistrate; a taste of which truth you may take from the Holy War, to which how fast and eagerly did men go when the priest persuaded them that whosoever died in that expedition was a martyr. Those that will not be convinced what a help this is to the magistracy, would find how considerable it is if they should chance

to clash : this would certainly eat out the other ; for the magistrate cannot urge obedience upon such potent grounds as the minister, if so disposed, can urge disobedience. As, for instance, if my governor should command me to do a thing, or I must die or forfeit my estate, and the minister steps in and tells me that I offend God and ruin my soul if I obey that command, it is easy to see a greater force in this persuasion from the advantage of its ground. And if divines once begin to curse Meros, we shall see that Levi can use the sword as well as Simeon : and although ministers do not handle, yet they can employ it. This shows the imprudence as well as the danger of the civil magistrate's exasperating those that can fire men's consciences against him, and arm his enemies with religion. For I have read heretofore of some, that, having conceived an irreconcilable hatred of the civil magistrate, prevailed with men so far that they went to resist him even out of conscience, and a full persuasion and dread upon their spirits that not to do it were to desert God, and consequently to incur damnation. Now when men's rage is both heightened and sanctified by conscience, the war will be fierce ; for what is done out of conscience is done with the utmost activity. And then Campanella's speech to the King of Spain will be found true, "*Religio semper vicit, præsertim armata*:" which sentence deserves seriously to be considered by all governors, and timely to be understood, lest it comes to be felt.

II. If the safety of government is founded upon the truth of religion, then this shows the danger of any thing that may make even the true religion suspected to

be false. To be false, and to be thought false, is all one in respect of men who act not according to truth but apprehension: as, on the contrary, a false religion, while apprehended true, has the force and efficacy of truth. Now there is nothing more apt to induce men to a suspicion of any religion than frequent innovation and change: for since the object of religion, God, the subject of it, the soul of man, and the business of it, truth, is always one and the same, variety and novelty is a just presumption of falsity. It argues sickness and distemper in the mind, as well as in the body, when a man is continually turning and tossing from one side to the other. The wise Romans ever dreaded the least innovation in religion; hence we find the advice of Mæcenas to Augustus Cæsar, in *Dion Cassius*, in the 52d book, where he counsels him to detest and persecute all innovators of divine worship, not only as contemners of the gods, but as the most pernicious disturbers of the state; for when men venture to make changes in things sacred, it argues great boldness with God, and this naturally imports little belief of him; which if the people once perceive, they will take their creed also, not from the magistrate's laws, but his example. Hence in England, where religion has been still purifying, and hereupon almost always in the fire and the furnace, atheists and irreligious persons have took no small advantage from our changes. For in King Edward the Sixth's time the divine worship was twice altered in two new liturgies. In the first of Queen Mary the Protestant religion was persecuted with fire and faggot, by law and public counsel, of the same persons who had so lately esta-

blished it. Upon the coming in of Queen Elizabeth religion was changed again, and within a few days the public council of the nation made it death for a priest to convert any man to that religion which before with so much eagerness of zeal had been restored. So that it is observed by an author, that in the space of twelve years there were four changes about religion made in England, and that by the public council and authority of the realm; which were more than were made by any Christian state throughout the world, so soon one after another, in the space of fifteen hundred years before. Hence it is that the enemies of God take occasion to blaspheme, and call our religion Statism. And now, adding to the former those many changes that have happened since, I am afraid we shall not so easily claw off that name; nor, though we may satisfy our own consciences in what we profess, be able to repel and clear off the objections of the rational world about us, which, not being interested in our changes as we are, will not judge of them as we judge, but debate them by impartial reason, by the nature of the thing, the general practice of the Church; against which, new lights, sudden impulses of the Spirit, extraordinary calls will be but weak arguments to prove any thing but the madness of those that use them, and that the Church must needs wither, being blasted with such inspirations. We see, therefore, how fatal and ridiculous innovations in the Church are; and, indeed, when changes are so frequent, it is not properly religion, but fashion. This, I think, we may build upon as a sure ground, that where there is continual change there is great show of uncertainty;

and uncertainty in religion is a shrewd motive, if not to deny, yet to doubt of its truth.

Thus much for the first doctrine. I proceed now to the second, — namely, that the next and most effectual way to destroy religion, is, to embase the teachers and dispensers of it. In the handling of this I shall show —

1st. How the dispensers of religion, the ministers of the Word, are embased, or rendered vile.

2d. How the embasing or vilifying them is a means to destroy religion.

1. For the first of these, the ministers and dispensers of the Word are rendered base or vile two ways: —

First, by divesting them of all temporal privileges and advantages, as inconsistent with their calling. It is strange, since the priest's office heretofore was always splendid, and almost regal, that it is now looked upon as a piece of religion to make it low and sordid. So that the use of the word minister is brought down to the literal signification of it, a servant: for, now, to serve and to minister, servile and ministerial, are terms equivalent. But, in the Old Testament, the same word signifies a priest, and a prince or chief ruler: hence, though we translate it "priest of On" (Gen. xli. 45.), and "priest of Midian" (Exod. ii. 1.), and "as it is with the people, so with the priest" (Esa. xxiv. 2.); Junius and Tremellius render all these places, not by *sacerdos*, priest, but by *præses*, that is, a prince, or, at least, a chief counsellor or minister of state. And it is strange that the name should be the same, when the nature of the thing is so exceeding different. The like, also, may be observed in other languages, that the most

illustrious titles are derived from things sacred, and belonging to the worship of God. Σεβαστός was the title of the Christian Cæsars, correspondent to the Latin Augustus; and it is derived from the same word that σέβασμα, *cultus*, *res sacra*, or *sacrificium*. And it is usual, in our language, to make “sacred” an epithet to “majesty:” there was a certain royalty in things sacred. Hence the Apostle, who, I think, was no enemy to the simplicity of the Gospel, speaks of a “royal priesthood” (1 Peter, ii. 9.); which shows, at least, that there is no contradiction or impiety in those terms. In old time, before the placing this office only in the line of Aaron, the head of the family and the first-born offered sacrifice for the rest; that is, was their priest. And we know that such rule and dignity belonged, at first, to the masters of families, that they had *jus vitæ et necis*, jurisdiction and power of life and death in their own family: and from hence was derived the beginning of kingly government; a king being only a civil head, or master of a politic family — the whole people; so that we see the same was the foundation of the royal and sacerdotal dignity. As for the dignity of this office among the Jews, it is so pregnantly set forth in Holy Writ, that it is unquestionable. Kings and priests are still mentioned together. Lament. ii. 6.: “The Lord hath despised, in the indignation of his anger, the king and the priest.” Hosea, v. 2.: “Hear, O priests, and give ear, O house of the king.” Deut. xvii. 12.: “And the man that doth presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest that standeth there to minister before the Lord thy God, or unto the judge, even that man

shall die." Hence Paul, together with a blow, received this reprehension, Acts, xxiii. 4., "Revilest thou God's high-priest?" And Paul, in the next verse, does not defend himself, by pleading an extraordinary motion of the Spirit, or that he was sent to reform the Church, and might, therefore, lawfully vilify the priesthood and all sacred orders; but, in the 5th verse, he makes an excuse, and that from ignorance, the only thing that could take away the fault, — namely, "that he knew not that he was the high-priest," and subjoins a reason which further advances the truth here defended: "For it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of the people." To Holy Writ we might add the testimony of Josephus, of next authority to it in things concerning the Jews, who, in sundry places of his History, sets forth the dignity of the priests; and, in his second Book against Appian the grammarian, has these words: πάντων τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων δικασταὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐτάχθησαν, "the priests were constituted judges of all doubtful causes." Hence Justin, also, in his 36th Book, has this: *Semper apud Judæos mos fuit, ut eosdem reges et sacerdotes haberent*: though this is false, that they were always so, yet it argues that they were so frequently, and that the distance between them was not great. To the Jews we may join the Egyptians, the first masters of learning and philosophy. Synesius, in his 57th Epistle, having shown the general practice of antiquity, ὁ παλαιὸς χρόνος ἤνεγκε τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἱερίας τε καὶ κριτάς, gives an instance in the Jews and Egyptians, who, for many ages, ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ἐβασιλεύθησαν, "had no other kings but priests." Next, we may take a view of the

practice of the Romans. Numa Pompilius, that civilised the fierce Romans, is reported, in the first Book of Livy, sometimes to have performed the priest's office himself: *Tum sacerdotibus creandis animum adjecit, quanquam ipse plurima sacra obibat*; but when he made priests, he gave them a dignity almost the same with himself. And this honour continued together with the valour and prudence of that nation; for the success of the Romans did not extirpate their religion; the college of the priests being, in many things, exempted even from the jurisdiction of the senate, afterwards the supreme power. Hence Juvenal, in his second Satire, mentions the priesthood of Mars as one of the most honourable places in Rome; and Julius Cæsar, who was chosen priest in his private condition, thought it not below him to continue the same office when he was created absolute governor of Rome, under the name of Perpetual Dictator. Add to these the practice of the Gauls mentioned by Cæsar in his 6th Book *De Bello Gallico*, where he says of the Druids, who were their priests, that they did judge *de omnibus ferè controversiis publicis privatisque*. See, also, Homer, in the 1st Book of his Iliads, representing Chryses, priest of Apollo, with his golden sceptre, as well as his golden censer. But why have I produced all these examples of the heathens? Is it to make these a ground of our imitation? No; but to show that the giving honour to the priesthood was a custom universal amongst all civilised nations: and whatsoever is universal is also natural, as not being founded upon compact, or the particular humours of men, but flowing from the native results of reason: and that which is

natural neither does nor can oppose religion. But you will say, this concerns not us, who have an express rule and word revealed. Christ was himself poor and despised, and withal has instituted such a ministry. To the first part of this plea I answer, That Christ came to suffer, yet the sufferings and miseries of Christ do not oblige all Christians to undertake the like. For the second, That the ministry of Christ was low, and despised by his institution, I utterly deny. It was so, indeed, by the malice and persecution of the heathen princes; but what does this argue or infer for a low, dejected ministry in a flourishing state, which professes to encourage Christianity? But to dash this cavil, read but the practice of Christian emperors and kings all along, down from the time of Constantine; with what respect, what honour and splendour they treated the ministers; and then let our adversaries produce their puny, pitiful arguments for the contrary, against the general, clear, undoubted vogue and current of all antiquity. As for two or three little countries about us, the learned and impartial will not value their practice; in one of which places the minister has been seen, for mere want, to mend shoes on the Saturday, and been heard to preach on the Sunday. In the other place, stating the several orders of the citizens, they place their ministers after their apothecaries; that is, the physician of the soul after the drugster of the body: a fit practice for those who, if they were to rank things as well as persons, would place their religion after their trade.

And thus much concerning the first way of debasing the ministers and ministry.

2. The second way is, by admitting ignorant, sordid, illiterate persons to this function. This is to give the royal stamp to a piece of lead. I confess, God has no need of any man's parts, or learning; but certainly, then, he has much less need of his ignorance and ill behaviour. It is a sad thing when all other employments shall empty themselves into the ministry, — when men shall repair to it, not for preferment, but refuge: like malefactors, flying to the altar only to save their lives, or like those of Eli's race (1 Sam. ii. 36.), that should come crouching and seek to be "put into the priest's office, that they might eat a piece of bread."^a Heretofore there was required splendour of parentage to recommend any one to the priesthood, as Josephus witnesses in a treatise which he wrote of his own life, where he says, to have right to deal in things sacred, was, amongst them, accounted an argument of a noble and illustrious descent. God would not accept the offals of other professions. Doubtless many rejected Christ upon this thought, that he was the carpenter's son, who would have embraced him, had they known him to have been the son of David. The preferring undeserving persons to this great service, was evidently Jeroboam's sin; and how Jeroboam's practice and offence has been continued amongst us in another guise, is not unknown: for has not learning unqualified men for approbation to the ministry? Have not parts and abilities been reputed enemies to grace, and qualities no ways ministerial?

While friends, faction, well-meaning, and little understanding, have been accomplishments beyond study and the university; and to falsify a story of conversion, beyond pertinent answers and clear resolutions to the hardest and most concerning questions. So that matters have been brought to this pass, that if a man amongst his sons had any blind or disfigured, he laid him aside for the ministry; and such an one was presently approved, as having a mortified countenance. In short, it was a fiery furnace, which often approved dross, and rejected gold. But, thanks be to God, those spiritual wickednesses are now discharged from their high places. Hence it was, that many rushed into the ministry, as being the only calling that they could profess, without serving an apprenticeship. Hence, also, we had those that could preach sermons, but not defend them. The reason of which is clear; because the work and writings of learned men might be borrowed, but not the abilities. Had, indeed, the old Levitical hierarchy still continued, in which it was part of the ministerial office to slay the sacrifices, to cleanse the vessels, to scour the flesh-forks, to sweep the temple, and carry the filth and rubbish to the brook Kidron, no persons living had been fitter for the ministry, and to serve in this nature at the altar. But since it is made a labour of the mind, as, to inform men's judgments, and move their affections, to resolve difficult places of Scripture, to decide and clear off controversies; I cannot see how to be a butcher, scavenger, or any other such trade, does at all qualify or prepare men for this work. But

as unfit as they were, yet to clear a way for such into the ministry, we have had almost all sermons full of gibes and scoffs at human learning. "Away with vain philosophy, with the disputer of this world, and the enticing words of man's wisdom; and set up the foolishness of preaching, the simplicity of the Gospel." Thus divinity has been brought in upon the ruins of humanity, by forcing the words of the Scripture from the sense, and then haling them to the worst of drudgeries, to set a *jus divinum* upon ignorance and imperfection, and recommend natural weakness for supernatural grace. Hereupon the ignorant have took heart to venture upon this great calling; instead of cutting their way to it, according to the usual course, through the knowledge of the tongues, the study of philosophy, school divinity, the fathers and councils, they have taken another and a shorter cut; and having read, perhaps, a treatise or two upon the Heart, the "Bruised Reed," "the Crumbs of Comfort," "Wollebius" in English, and some other little authors, the usual furniture of old women's closets, they have set forth as accomplished divines, and forthwith they present themselves to the service; and there has not been wanting Jeroboams as willing to consecrate and receive them, as they to offer themselves. And this has been one of the most fatal and almost irrecoverable blows that has been given to the ministry.

And this may suffice concerning the second way of embasing God's ministers; namely, by entrusting the ministry with raw, unlearned, ill-bred persons; so that what Solomon speaks of a proverb in the mouth of a

fool, the same may be said of the ministry vested in them, that it is "like a pearl in a swine's snout."

I proceed now to the second thing proposed in the discussion of this doctrine, which is to show, how the embasing of the ministers tends to the destruction of religion.

This it does two ways.

1. Because it brings them under exceeding scorn and contempt. And then, let none think religion itself secure: for the vulgar have not such logical heads, as to be able to abstract such subtle conceptions, as to separate the man from the minister, or to consider the same person under a double capacity, and so honour him as a divine, while they despise him as poor. But suppose they could, yet actions cannot distinguish as conceptions do; and therefore every act of contempt strikes at both, and unavoidably wounds the ministry through the sides of the minister. And we must know that the least degree of contempt weakens religion, because it is absolutely contrary to the nature of it; religion properly consisting in a reverential esteem of things sacred. Now that which in any measure weakens religion will at length destroy it; for the weakening of a thing is only a partial destruction of it. Poverty and meanness of condition expose the wisest to scorn, it being natural for men to place their esteem rather upon things great than good; and the poet observes that this *infelix paupertas* has nothing in it more intolerable than this, that it renders men ridiculous. And then, how easy and natural it is for contempt to pass from the person to the office, from him that speaks

to the thing that he speaks of, experience proves ; counsel being seldom valued so much for the truth of the thing, as the credit of him that gives it. Observe an excellent passage to this purpose in Eccl. ix. 14, 15. We have an account of a little city with few men in it, besieged by a great and potent king, and in the 15th verse we read that “there was found in it a poor wise man, and he by his wisdom delivered the city.” A worthy service indeed, and certainly we may expect that some honourable recompence should follow it ; a deliverer of his country, and that in such distress, could not but be advanced : but we find a contrary event in the next words of the same verse : “Yet none remembered that same poor man !” Why ? What should be the reason ? Was he not a man of parts and wisdom ? And is not wisdom honourable ? Yes, but he was poor. But was he not also successful as well as wise ? True ; but still he was poor : and once grant this, and you cannot keep off that unavoidable sequel in the next verse : “The poor man’s wisdom is despised, and his words are not heard.” We may believe it upon Solomon’s word, who was rich as well as wise, and therefore knew the force of both : and probably, had it not been for his riches, the Queen of Sheba would never have come so far only to have heard his wisdom. Observe her behaviour when she came. Though upon the hearing of Solomon’s wisdom, and the resolution of her hard questions, she expressed a just admiration, yet when Solomon afterward showed her his palace, his treasures, and the temple which he had built (1 Kings, x. 5.), it is said, “there was no more spirit in her.” What was the cause

of this? Certainly, the magnificence, the pomp, and splendour of such a structure: it struck her into an ecstasy beyond his wise answers. She esteemed this as much above his wisdom, as astonishment is beyond bare admiration. She admired his wisdom, but she adored his magnificence. So apt is the mind, even of wise persons, to be surprised with the superficialities or circumstance of things, and value or undervalue spirituals, according to the manner of their external appearance. When circumstances fail, the substance seldom long survives: clothes are no part of the body; yet take away clothes, and the body must die. Livy observes of Romulus, that, being to give laws to his new Romans, he found no better way to procure an esteem and reverence to them, than by first procuring it to himself, by splendour of habit and retinue, and other signs of royalty. And the wise Numa, his successor, took the same course to enforce his religious laws,—namely, by giving the same pomp to the priest, who was to dispense them: *Sacerdotem creavit, insignique eum veste, et curuli regiâ sellâ adornavit.* That is, he adorned him with a rich robe, and a royal chair of state. And, in our judicatures, take away the trumpet, the scarlet, the attendance, and the lordship (which would be to make Justice naked as well as blind), and the law would lose much of its terror, and, consequently, of its authority. Let the minister be abject and low, his interest inconsiderable, the Word will suffer for his sake. The message will still find reception according to the dignity of the messenger. Imagine an ambassador presenting himself in a poor frieze jerkin and tattered clothes; certainly

he would have but small audience ; his embassy would speed rather according to the weakness of him that brought, than the majesty of him that sent it. It will fare alike with the ambassadors of Christ ; the people will give them audience according to their presence. A notable example of which we have in the behaviour of some to Paul himself, 1 Cor. x. 10. Hence, in the Jewish Church, it was cautiously provided in the Law, that none that was blind or lame, or had any remarkable defect in his body, was capable of the priestly office ; because these things naturally make a person contemned, and this presently reflects upon the function. This, therefore, is the first way by which the low, despised condition of the ministers tends to the destruction of the ministry and religion ; namely, because it subjects their persons to scorn, and consequently their calling : and it is not imaginable, that men will be brought to obey what they cannot esteem.

2. The second way by which it tends to the ruin of the ministry is, because it discourages men of fit parts and abilities from undertaking it. And certain it is that as the calling dignifies the man, so the man much more advances his calling ; as a garment, though it warms the body, has a return with an advantage, being much more warmed by it : and how often a good cause may miscarry without a wise manager, and the faith for want of a defender, is, or at least may be, known. It is not the truth of an assertion, but the skill of the disputant, that keeps off a baffle ; not the justness of a cause, but the valour of the soldiers, that

must win the field. When a learned Paul was converted, and undertook the ministry, it stopped the mouths of those that said, "None but poor weak fishermen preached Christianity;" and so his learning silenced the scandal, as well as strengthened the Church. Religion placed in a soul of exquisite knowledge and abilities, as in a castle, finds not only habitation but defence. And what a learned foreign divine^a said of the English preaching, may be said of all, *Plus est in Artifice quàm in Arte*. So much of moment is there in the professors of any thing to depress or raise the profession. What is it that kept the Church of Rome strong, athletic, and flourishing for so many centuries, but the happy succession of the choicest wits engaged to her service by suitable preferments? And what strength, do we think, would that give to the true religion, that is able thus to establish a false? Religion, in a great measure, stands or falls according to the abilities of those that assert it. And, if, as some observe, men's desires are usually as large as their abilities, what course have we took to allure the former, that we might engage the latter to our assistance? But we have took all ways to affright and discourage scholars from looking towards this sacred calling. For will men lay out their wit and judgment upon that employment, for the undertaking of which both will be questioned? Would men, not long since, have spent toilsome days, and watchful nights, in the laborious quest of knowledge, preparative to this work, at length to come and dance attendance for approbation upon a junto of

^a Gaspar Streso.

petty tyrants, acted by party and prejudice, who denied fitness from learning, and grace from morality? Will a man exhaust his livelihood upon books, and his health, the best part of his life, upon study, to be at length thrust into a poor village, where he shall have his due precariously, and entreat for his own, and when he has it, live poorly and contemptibly upon it, while the same, or less labour, bestowed upon any other calling, would bring not only comfort, but splendour, not only maintenance, but abundance? It is, I confess, the duty of ministers to endure this condition: but neither religion nor reason does oblige either them to approve, or others to choose it. Doubtless parents will not throw away the towardness of a child, and the expense of education, upon a profession, the labour of which is increased, and the rewards of which are vanished. To condemn promising lively parts to contempt and penury in a despised calling, what is it else but the casting of a Moses into the mud, or the offering a son upon the altar; and instead of a priest to make him a sacrifice? Neither let any here reply, that it becomes not a ministerial spirit to undertake such a calling for reward; for they must know, that it is one thing to undertake it for a reward, and not to be willing to undertake it without one. It is one thing to perform good works, only that we may receive the recompence of them in heaven, and another thing not to be willing to follow Christ and forsake the world if there were no such recompence. But besides, suppose it were the duty of scholars to choose this calling in the midst of all its discouragements: yet a prudent governor, who knows it to be his wisdom, as well

as his duty, to take the best course to advance religion, will not consider men's duty, but their practice; not what they ought to do, but what they use to do; and therefore draw over the best qualified to this service, by such ways as are most apt to persuade and induce men. Solomon built his temple with the tallest cedars; and surely, when God refused the defective and the maimed for sacrifice, we cannot think that he requires them for the priesthood. When learning, abilities, and what is excellent in the world, forsake the Church, we may easily foretel its ruin without the gift of prophecy. And when ignorance succeeds in the place of learning, weakness in the room of judgment, we may be sure heresy and confusion will quickly come in the room of religion. For undoubtedly there is no way so effectual to betray the truth as to procure it a weak defender.

Well, now; instead of raising any particular uses from the point that has been delivered, let us make a brief recapitulation of the whole. Government, we see, depends upon religion, and religion upon the encouragement of those that are to dispense and assert it. For the farther evidence of which truths we need not travel beyond our own borders; but leave it to every one impartially to judge, whether from the very first day that our religion was unsettled, and Church government flung out of doors, the civil government has ever been able to fix upon a sure foundation. We have been changing even to a proverb. The indignation of Heaven has been rolling and turning us from one form to another, till at length such a giddiness seized upon government, that it fell into the very dregs of sectaries

who threatened an equal ruin both to minister and magistrate. And how the State has sympathised with the Church is apparent. For have not our princes as well as our priests been of the lowest of the lowest of the people? Have not cobblers, draymen, mechanics, governed as well as preached? Nay, have they not by preaching come to govern? Was ever that of Solomon more verified, "That servants have rid, while princes and nobles have gone on foot?" But God has been pleased, by a miracle of mercy, to dissipate this confusion and chaos, and to give us some openings, some dawns of liberty and settlement. But now let not those who are to rebuild our Jerusalem think that the temple must be built last. For if there be such a thing as a God and religion, as, whether men believe it or no, they will one day find and feel, assuredly he will stop our liberty, till we restore him his worship. Besides, it is a senseless thing in reason, to think that one of these interests can stand without the other, when, in the very order of natural causes, government is preserved by religion. But to return to Jeroboam, with whom we first began. He laid the foundation of his government in destroying, though, doubtless, he coloured it with the name of reforming, God's worship: but see the issue. Consider him cursed by God; maintaining his usurped title by continual vexatious wars against the kings of Judah; smote in his posterity, which was made like the dung upon the face of the earth, as low and vile as those priests whom he had employed. Consider him branded, and made odious to all after ages. And now, when his kingdom and glory were at an end, and he and his pos-

terity rotting under ground, and his name stinking above it; judge what a worthy prize he made in getting of a kingdom, by destroying the Church. Wherefore the sum of all this is: to advise and desire those whom it may concern, to consider Jeroboam's punishment, and then they will have little heart to Jeroboam's sin.

THE EPISTLE TO THE READER PREFIXED TO
THE FIFTH BOOK OF THE CHURCH.

[RICHARD FIELD, D.D.]

As in the days of Noah they all perished in the waters, that entered not into the ark prepared by God's own appointment, for the preservation of such as should escape that fearful and almost universal destruction; so is it a most certain and undoubted truth, good Christian reader, that none can flee from the wrath to come, and attain desired happiness, but such as enter into that society of men which we call the Church, which is the chosen multitude of them whom God hath separated from the rest of the world, and to whom he hath in more special sort manifested himself by the knowledge of revealed truth than to any other. So that nothing is more necessary to be sought out and known, than which and where this happy society of holy ones is, that so we may join ourselves to the same, and inherit the promises made unto it; according to that of the holy patriarch Noah: "Blessed be the God of Shem, and let Canaan be his servant; the Lord persuade Japheth to dwell in the tents of Shem." The

consideration whereof moved me, when I was to enter into the controversies of these times, first and before all other things, carefully to seek out the nature and being of this Church, the notes whereby it may be known, which it is amongst all the societies of men in the world, and what the privileges are that do belong unto it; of all which things I have treated in those four books of that argument, which, not long since, I offered to thy view and censure. Now, it remaineth that in this ensuing book then promised, I show in what sort Almighty God, who sitteth between the cherubim in his holy temple, revealeth himself from off the mercy seat, to such as by the calling of grace he hath caused to approach, and draw near unto himself; and how he guideth and directeth them to the attaining of eternal felicity. Many and sundry ways did God reveal himself in ancient times, as it is in the Epistle to the Hebrews. For sometimes he manifested himself to men waking, by visions; sometimes to men sleeping, by dreams; sometimes he appeared in a pillar of a cloud; sometimes in flaming fire; sometimes he came walking a soft pace among the trees of the garden, in the cool of the day; sometimes he rent the rocks, and clave the mountains in sunder; sometimes he spake with a still and soft voice; sometimes his thunders shook the pillars of heaven, and made the earth to tremble, as in the giving of the Law, when he came down upon Mount Sinai, what time the people by Moses' direction went forth to meet him; but when they heard the thunders, and the sound of the trumpet, and saw the lightnings, and the mountain smoking, they fled, and stood afar off,

and said unto Moses, "Talk thou with us, and we will hear thee; but let not God talk with us, lest we die." This their petition Almighty God mercifully granted; and, knowing whereof they were made, resolved no more to speak unto them in so terrible and fearful manner, but rather to put heavenly treasures into earthen vessels, that is, to enlighten the understandings, and to sanctify the mouths and tongues of some amongst themselves, and by them to make known his will and pleasure to the rest. In this sort, after the giving of the law, he employed the priests and Levites in a set and ordinary course, appointing that the people should seek the knowledge of the same at their mouths; and in case of great confusion, and general defects of these ordinary guides, raised up Prophets, as well to denounce his judgments against offenders, and to reform abuses; as also to foreshow the future state of things, and more and more to raise in men a desire, hope, and expectation of the coming of the promised Messiah, whom, in the fulness of time, he sent into the world as the happiest messenger of glad tidings that ever came unto the sons of men, and the Angel of the great covenant of peace; causing this proclamation to be made before him, "This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear him." "In him were hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge;" so that it was said of him, "He hath done all things well;" so likewise that "Never man spake as he spake." But because he came not into this lower world to make his abode here perpetually, but to carry up with him into heaven our desires first, and then ourselves; after he had wrought

all righteousness, and performed the work for which he came, he returned back to God that sent him. Choosing out some of them that had been conversant with him in the days of his flesh, that had heard the words of his divine wisdom, and were eye-witnesses of all the things he did, and suffered, and sending them as his Father sent him, who were therefore named Apostles. These had many excellent pre-eminences, proper to those beginnings, and fit for the founding of Christian churches; as immediate calling, infallibility of judgment, general commission, the understanding and knowledge of all tongues, power to confirm their doctrine by signs and wonders, and to confer the miraculous gifts of the Spirit upon others also by the imposition of their hands; in which things, when they had finished their course, they left none to succeed them. Yet out of their more large, ample, and immediate commissions, they authorised others to preach the gospel, administer sacraments, to bind and loose, and to perform other like pastoral duties, sanctifying and ordaining them to this work by the imposition of hands. These they honoured with the glorious title of presbyters, that is, fatherly guides of God's church and people; and, knowing the weight of the burden they laid on their shoulders, added unto them as assistants others of an inferior degree and rank, whom they named deacons or ministers. Amongst these fatherly guides of God's church and people, for the preventing of dissension, the avoiding of confusion, and the more orderly managing of the important affairs of Almighty God, they established a most excellent, divine, and heavenly order, giving unto one amongst the pres-

byters of each church an eminent and fatherly power, so that the rest might do nothing without him; whom, for distinction's sake, and to express the honour of his degree and place, afore and above others, we name a bishop. And farther, by a most wise disposition, provided that amongst bishops all should not challenge all things unto themselves, but that there should be, in several provinces, several bishops, who should be first and chief amongst the brethren; and again constituted and placed certain others in greater cities, who might take care of more than the former. The former of these were named metropolitans; the latter were known by the name of patriarchs, or chief fathers, who also, in order and honour, were one before and after another. By means of this order established by the apostles of Christ among the guides of God's people, and received and allowed by the first and primitive Christians, unity was preserved, the parts of the church holden fast together in a band of concordant agreement, questions determined, doubts cleared, differences composed, and causes advisedly and deliberately heard with all indifference and equity. For how could there be any breach in the Christian churches, when none were ordained presbyters in any church but by the bishop, the rest of the presbyters imposing their hands on them, together with him? None admitted to the degree and order of a bishop but by the metropolitans and other bishops of the province, sufficiently approving that they did to the people over which they set him? None received as a metropolitan unless, being ordained by the bishops of the province, upon notice given of their orderly pro-

ceeding, and the sincerity of his faith and profession, he were confirmed by the patriarch? Nor none taken for a patriarch, though ordained by many neighbour bishops, till, making known the soundness of his profession, and the lawfulness of his election and ordination, to the rest of the patriarchs, he were allowed and received by them as one of their rank and order? Or what fear could there be of any wrong, injustice, or sinister proceedings in the hearing of causes and determining of controversies, unless there were in a sort a general failing? When, if there grew a difference between a bishop and his presbyters, or if either presbyter, deacon, or inferior clergyman disliked the proceedings of his bishop, there lay an appeal to the metropolitan, who had power to re-examine the matter in a synod, and to see they were not wronged? And if either clerk or bishop had aught against the metropolitan, it was lawful for them to appeal to the primate or patriarch, who, in a greater and more honourable synod, was to hear the matter, and to make a final end? When, if any variance rose between any of the patriarchs and their bishops, or amongst themselves, it was lawful for the patriarchs that were above and before them, in order and honour, to interpose themselves, and with their synods to judge of such differences? And in such cases as could not be ended, or that concerned the faith and the state of the whole universal church, there remained the judgment and resolution of a general council, wherein the bishop of the first see was to sit as president and moderator, and the other bishops of the Christian world as his fellow judges, and in the same commission with him?

This order continued in the church from the Apostles' times, and wrought excellent effects, till the Bishop of Constantinople first sought, and after him the Bishop of Rome obtained, to be not only in order and honour before the rest, as anciently he had been, but to have an absolute and universal commanding power over all that either by fraud or violence he could bring into subjection. Whence followed horrible confusions in the Christian church, and almost the utter ruin and desolation of the same. For after that this child of pride had, in this Lucifer-like sort, advanced himself above his brethren, he thrust his sickle into other men's harvests — he encroached upon their bounds and limits; he pretended a right to confer all dignities, whether elective or presentative — to receive appeals of all sorts of men, out of all parts of the world; nay, without appeal or complaint, immediately to take notice of all causes in the dioceses of all other bishops; so overthrowing their jurisdiction, and seizing it into his own hands. He exempted presbyters from the jurisdiction of their bishops, bishops of their metropolitans, and metropolitans of their primates and patriarchs; and leaving unto the rest nothing but a naked and empty title, took upon him to determine all doubts and questions, of himself alone, as out of the infallibility of his judgment; to excommunicate, degrade, and depose, and again to absolve, reconcile, and restore, and to hear and judge of all causes, as out of the fulness of his power. Neither did he there stay; but having subjected unto him, as much as in him lay, all the members of Christ's body, and trampled underneath his feet the honour and

dignity of all his brethren and colleagues, he went forward and challenged a right to dispose of all the kingdoms of the world, as being lord of lords and king of kings. To this height he raised himself by innumerable sleights and cunning devices; taking the advantage of the ignorance, superstition, negligence, and base disposition which he found to be in many of the guides of the church in those days, and, by their help and concurrence, prevailing against the rest that were of another spirit. Neither did he demean himself any better after he had attained to this his desired greatness; for such was his pride, insolence, and tyranny, and such, so many, and insupportable were the burdens he laid on the shoulders of them that were no way able to bear them, the voices of complaint and murmuring were everywhere heard, and the minds of all men filled with discontentment and desire of alteration, which, after many longing desires of our ancestors, hath been effected in our time: God, at the last, hearing the cries of his people, and stirring up the heroical spirits of his chosen servants to work our deliverance, to take the burdens from our shoulders, the yoke from our necks, and to bring us out of that Babylon, wherein we were captives, and that spiritual Egypt, wherein we were formerly holden in miserable bondage. But, as there were some of the children of the captivity, that after long continuance abroad forgot Jerusalem, and preferred Babylon before Zion, never desiring to return into their own country any more; and, as many of the Israelites, brought out of the house of Pharaoh's bondage by God himself, and conducted by Moses and Aaron to

take possession of Canaan, the land of promise,—a land that flowed with milk and honey,—in their hearts returned back; so are there many that would never be induced to come out of the spiritual Babylon, and other that are easily persuaded to look back, and in their hearts to return into Egypt again. For the winning and gaining of the former, and the staying of the latter, I have endeavoured, by the true description out of the Scripture, and the authentical records of antiquity, to make it appear how far Canaan exceedeth Egypt, and Zion, Babylon; how different the government of Christ is from that of Antichrist; how happy the people are that live under the one, and how miserable their condition is that are subject to the other.

Beseeching God, for his mercies' sake, to enlighten them that sit in darkness, to bring back them that are gone astray, to raise up them that are fallen, to strengthen them that stand, to confirm them that are doubtful, to rebuke Satan, to put an end to the manifold unhappy contentions of these times, to make up the breaches of Zion, to build the walls of Jerusalem, and to love it still.

THE ORDERING OF DEACONS.

HUMAN MEANS USEFUL TO INSPIRED PERSONS.

[BISHOP BULL.]

THAT THE POVERTY OF THE FIRST PREACHERS OF THE GOSPEL WAS DESIGNED BY PROVIDENCE TO CONVINCE THE WORLD OF THEIR SINCERITY: AND THAT EVEN PERSONS DIVINELY INSPIRED, AND MINISTERS OF GOD, DID NOT SO WHOLLY DEPEND UPON DIVINE INSPIRATION, BUT THAT THEY MADE USE ALSO OF THE ORDINARY HELP AND MEANS, SUCH AS READING OF BOOKS, WITH STUDY AND MEDITATION ON THEM, FOR THEIR ASSISTANCE IN THE DISCHARGE OF THEIR OFFICE.

2 TIM. iv. 13.

The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring with thee, and the books, but especially the parchments.

THE sacred writings of the Old and New Testament, being penned by holy persons either entirely and immediately inspired, or directed and assisted by the Divine Spirit in what they meditated and wrote, have nothing in them that is frivolous or useless, nothing but what may yield us profitable matter of instruction, if rightly understood.

The seemingly very little things in them are many times, upon farther search and consideration, found to be of no little use. Such is the text I have now read: a place of Scripture which I have made choice of, not

so much to show my skill in improving a seemingly barren text, as because it is the most apposite and the fittest I could find whereon to found a discourse, which I think may be of very good use to many in the age wherein we live. To make way whereunto I must borrow some of your time and patience for the opening and explaining of the text itself.

St. Paul wrote this Epistle from Rome to Timothy in the Lesser Asia, where St. Paul had formerly been, and had in that time thrice at least visited Troas, the chief city of a country of that name, the same with the old city of Troy, so famous for the ten years' siege of the Grecians against it. At his last being at that city he had left some things behind him there, which he now desires Timothy, when he came to Rome, to bring with him, as things that he stood in need of, and might be useful to him : and what were they ?

First, "the cloke that I left at Troas ;" in the Greek it is τὸν φελόνην, a word borrowed from the Latins, as appears from the other writing of it often used, τὸν φενόλην, *penulam*, which signifies a cloke or upper garment, such as travellers use to defend themselves with from the cold or bad weather.

"And the books." The sacred books of the Old Testament, say some very confidently ; but I must crave leave to dissent from them. For though I question not but that St. Paul was very conversant in those sacred books, and esteemed them above all human writings, yet it is very improbable that these were the books here meant. For the Scriptures of the Old Testament were to be had in all the churches of Christ where

St. Paul came, being constantly read in the Christian assemblies as well as in those of the Jews; so that he could not be in such want of them, as to send for them from Rome as far as Troas. Nor is it likely that he would give the common appellative name of "books" to the divinely-inspired writings, without any other note of distinction.

But it is certain that St. Paul had read other books besides the Scriptures, which what they were may best be gathered from his education, and from those foot-steps and tracings of his reading which appear in his writings. He was bred a scholar "at the feet of Gamaliel^a," a learned and famous doctor among the Jews, very probably the same of whom we read^b, "Then stood there up one in the council, a Pharisee, named Gamaliel, a doctor of law, had in reputation among all the people," &c. But that he was a very learned and celebrated doctor among the Jews of that age is most certain, and confessed by all Christian expositors.

Under this famous tutor St. Paul, questionless, made a great proficiency in all the learning of his time and country. There were then extant very excellent books of Jewish learning, written by men renowned in their generations before our Saviour's coming in the flesh, (which are now perished, little more than the authors' names surviving,) of which St. Paul, being the pupil of so great a master in that sort of learning, cannot reasonably be supposed to have been ignorant. These were partly exegetical and explanatory of the mysterious

^a Acts, xxii. 3.

^b Acts, v. 34.

senses veiled under the letter of the Law and the Prophets, and partly historical. The ancient books containing the mysteries of the Jewish religion are by the later Jews stifled and suppressed, as making too much for the Christian cause. Yet we have somewhat of this kind of learning still preserved, especially in the writings of Philo the Jew, though mixed with much trash; like a few thin and slender veins of gold running through a great mass or body of earth and dross. And it is plain to him that hath carefully read St. Paul's Epistles, and is acquainted also with the writings of Philo, that the holy Apostle well understood that cabalistical theology of the Jews, and retained so much of it as, by the direction of the Divine Spirit in him, he found to be sound, good, and genuine. In the tenth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, St. Paul expounds the "manna showered on the Israelites in the wilderness," and "the rock that gave them water to quench their thirst," to be significations of our Saviour Christ; and shows, moreover, that "the angel going before the people of God in that their pilgrimage," and "tempted by them," was our Lord Christ. And all this Philo likewise understands of the *Λόγος*, the "Word^a" or Son of God, which we Christians know to have been in the fulness of time made man, and called by the name of Jesus Christ. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, (who is supposed by some to have been St. Paul himself, but was questionless, if not St. Paul, yet a contemporary and acquaintance of his,) in the

^a Vide Phil.

fourth chapter of that epistle^a, speaking of the Λόγος, the “Word” of God, useth almost the very same expressions, but altogether the same sense, that Philo hath, discoursing of the same matter in his writings, as hath been observed by the learned Grotius on the place; who, from that and other indications, conjectures that the divine author had read the books of that learned Jew.

And for the Jewish history, whence had St. Paul the names of Jannes and Jambres, nowhere mentioned in the sacred chronicle, but from some other ancient records extant in his time, which he had read, and so far approved? Nor was St. Paul unacquainted with the heathen writers celebrated in his time; for these he sometimes makes use of for the conviction of the heathens with whom he had to do, and whose apostle chiefly and especially he was, as by his learning the fittest for that office. Thus, in his sermon to the Athenians^b, he quotes a testimony out of one of the Greek poets, in these words: “As certain also of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring.” The poet he cites was of Cilicia, St. Paul’s native country, named Aratus, who had this in his poems, “For we are also his offspring.”^c

Thus, also, in his Epistle to Titus^d, he cites a verse of one of the prophets or poets of the Cretans, “One of them, even a prophet of their own, said, The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, and slow bellies.”^e Epimenides is the author of the verse, who was a prophet, not only in the sense that all poets are so called, but a pretender also to enthusiasm and prophecy in the stricter sense, as

^a Ver. 12, 13.

^b Acts, xvii. 28.

^c Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν.

^d Chap. i. 12.

^e Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεύσται, κακὸν θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί.

Cicero tells us in his book of Divination^a, and owned as such among the heathens, even the more learned of them.

So, in the First Epistle to the Corinthians^b, he cites this Greek sentence, —

Φθείρουσιν ἡθὴ χρησθ' ὁμιλῆαι κακά.

That is, “Evil communications corrupt good manners;” which is a verse of the poet Menander, as St. Jerom hath long ago observed. And that St. Paul had diligently perused the epistles of Heraclitus the Ephesian, hath been abundantly proved by the learned Scultetus^c, who also gathers from the Platonic phrases often used by him that he had read likewise some writings of the Platonists.^d

Some few choice books of both these kinds (but very few, according to his poverty) St. Paul had made a shift to get and preserve, but for the present left at Troas, from whence he desires Timothy to convey them, as being of use to him. But let us go on in the words of the text.

“But especially the parchments,” τὰς μεμβράνας, a Latin word again made Greek, signifying the “skins of beasts,” smoothed, dried, and fitted to receive writing on them, which we call parchments. These, as learned interpreters generally conclude^e (nor can it well be otherwise imagined), were St. Paul’s *adversaria*, or commonplace books, wherein he had written down what he

^a Lib. i. 18.

^b Chap. xv. 33.

^c Orat. de Philol. et Theol. conjunctione, Delic. Evangelicis præmissa.

^d Vid. Scult. Observ. in 2 Tim. i. 6.

^e V. Est. et Grot. in loc.

had observed as worthy of more especial notice, in the reading either of the scriptures of the Old Testament, or the other books but now mentioned, for the help of his memory. The blessed Apostle could not, by reason of his poverty (as hath been already observed), be the master and owner of a complete library of the learned books extant in his time; and if he could, it was not possible for him to carry it about with him in his travels; and therefore he had his parchments, wherein he had noted what he thought might be of use to him, out of the many books he had read. Concerning these collections, as being probably the fruit of some years' reading and study, he gives Timothy a most special charge to take care of their safe conveyance to him; "but especially the parchments."

This may suffice for the explanation of my text. I come, now, to raise such useful observations from it, as, being so explained, it naturally affords us.

1. Then, I observe here, the poverty and mean estate of the great Apostle Paul. It is, indeed, Erasmus's observation on the place, "Behold the Apostle's goods, or moveables; a poor cloak to keep him from the weather, and a few books!"^a And Grotius's note on the text is to the same purpose: "See the poverty of so great an Apostle, who could not want so little a thing as a cloak left at Troas, but charges Timothy to bring it with him from so remote a distance!"^b Hence St. Paul himself often takes notice of his own poverty.

^a En supellectilem Apostolicam, penulam quæ defendat ab imbris et libros aliquot.

^b Vide paupertatem tanti Apostoli qui rem tantillam tam longe relictam, inter damna censuerit.

So^a, “Even unto this present hour, we both hunger, and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place; and labour, working with our own hands.” And that he lived by his labour, he tells us^b; “Yea, yourselves know, that these hands have ministered to my necessities, and to them that were with me.” And the same thing he expresseth in other places, which I have not time now to recite.

This was a singular design of God’s providence towards the Apostles in general, who were all of them kept in a poor and mean, yea, in a most afflicted and miserable condition, as St. Paul observes^c; “For I think that God hath set forth us, the Apostles, last, as it were appointed unto death; for we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men. We are fools for Christ’s sake, but ye are wise in Christ; we are weak, but ye are strong; ye are honourable, but we are despised. For unto this present hour we both hunger, and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place; and labour, working with our own hands: being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we suffer it; being defamed, we entreat: we are made as the filth of the world, and are the off-scouring of all things unto this day.”

The design of Providence was, that hereby the world, to whom the Apostles preached the Gospel, might be fully convinced of their sincerity in the preaching of it; that they sought not themselves, or their own ease and advantage, but were content, for the propagation of the

^a 1 Cor. iv. 11, 12.

^b Acts, xx. 34.

^c 1 Cor. iv. 9—13.

Gospel, of which they were ministers, to endure the greatest inconveniences, necessities, and extremities. This was sufficient to satisfy all sober and reasonable persons that they had no design of their own; that their only aim was the advancement of that truth which, with so great a loss and hazard to themselves, they constantly published to the world.

But this was not to be the standard and measure of the ministers of Christ in the after more flourishing and prosperous condition of the church, when “kings should become their nursing fathers, and queens their nursing mothers,” as it was prophesied.^a The church of Christ, even in the first ages and times of persecution, had its *γαλήνεν*, its “calm,” sometimes, when the powers of the earth favoured them, and allowed them a more peaceable and prosperous condition. But when Constantine declared himself Christian, the church grew splendid and glorious, and the succeeding emperors thought it their glory to advance the wealth and honour of it. This prosperous estate of Christians, with some few interruptions, is (God be praised!) conveyed down to us at this day, (and may it for ever continue!) whilst the designs of those that envy the church’s prosperity perish and are brought to nought. But if ever a time of poverty and affliction shall befall us, we are then to follow the example of the apostles of Christ; to be contented with our poverty and affliction, and by no means to be deterred from the constant asserting of the truth we preach and profess.

^a Isaiah, xlix. 23.

But this is not the point I intend to prosecute, there being another observation as naturally arising from my text, and which I designed to be the chief subject of my discourse at this time.

2. Therefore I observe, that even the divinely inspired persons and ministers of God did not so wholly depend upon divine inspiration, but that they made use also of the ordinary helps and means, such as reading of books, with study and meditation on them, for their assistance in the discharge of their office.

St. Paul had his books which he had read, and his manuscripts too, or collection of notes, which he found to be useful to him, and therefore gives Timothy a special charge to convey them safely to him.

And it is farther to be observed, that he earnestly exhorts his son Timothy to the same course of reading and study^a; “Till I come, give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine. Neglect not the gift that is in thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery. Meditate on these things; give thyself wholly to them; that thy profiting may appear to all.” Where we have several things observable to our purpose. 1. The exhortation is to Timothy, a man placed by the apostles bishop at Ephesus, the metropolis of the Lesser Asia, which, though called the Lesser, was of a very great and wide extent; a man that was the beloved son, or darling scholar and disciple, of the great Apostle St. Paul; a man marked out long before by prophecies as one that

^a 1 Tim. iv. 13—15.

should prove a very eminent and excellent person, or by the spirit of prophecy in the apostles, after a singular manner appointed to the ministry of the Gospel^a; a man accordingly endowed with extraordinary and immediately infused abilities, signified by the *χάρισμα*, or “gift,” said here to be given him in his ordination. This man St. Paul exhorts to reading and meditation, for the better discharge of his office. 2. The order of the Apostle’s exhortation to him is observable; “Give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine:” to reading, before exhortation or doctrine. He is advised to be himself first a well-read and learned divine, that he might be the better able to instruct and teach others. 3. The emphatical words used by the Apostle in the exhortation are remarkable. He adviseth Timothy not only to “read” and “study,” that he might be able to exhort and teach with profit, but presseth him to “give attendance” to reading, not to “neglect” the supernatural gift bestowed on him, to “meditate” on what he read and learned, and to addict and “give himself wholly” to these things. All which phrases plainly signify the greatest industry and diligence to be used by him in reading and study, and the other exercises there mentioned. The same thing, doubtless, St. Paul intends, when he admonisheth the same Timothy to “stir up the gift of God” within him^b, where the Greek word is *ἀναζωπυρεῖν*, which properly signifies to “cherish” or “rekindle” fire (that will otherwise go out and die in its own ashes), by blowing it up, and adding new fuel to it.

^a 1 Tim. i. 18.

^b 2 Tim. i. 6.

Thus the gifts of God in men, even the extraordinary gifts, such as Timothy had, will soon decay, die, and be extinguished in the ashes, as it were, of their sloth and negligence, and require continual refreshment and reparation from their diligence in reading, studying, and praying; and I add, also, charitable using and exercising those gifts for the good of others. A learned man thinks that the Apostle, speaking of “gifts” more immediately infused from above, alludes to the “fire of the altar under the Law,” that first came down from heaven, but was afterwards to be preserved and maintained by the priests with a constant supply of wood, and their continual care in cherishing it.^a This is sufficient to show us the practice of the divinely inspired persons under the New Testament.

I add, that the holy prophets, under the Old Testament, took the same course; not depending so wholly upon immediate revelation and inspiration from God, as to think all endeavour and diligence on their own part needless; but, on the contrary, taking pains to be prophets, being for a long time educated in societies and schools of that divine learning, under a constant discipline and exercise for the attaining of the gift of prophecy; and when they had attained it, still using a proportionable diligence for the maintenance, preservation, and increase of it. For we read of colleges and incorporated societies, consisting of prophets and their sons, or of prophets and their scholars and disciples; the one receiving instruction from the other, just as it is in the colleges of our universities.

^a Leviticus, vi. 12, 13., compared with chap. ix. 24.

That there were such colleges of prophets anciently among the Jews, over each of which one more excellent prophet was president, is most certain from divers texts of Scripture. The first mention of such a college we have 1 Sam. x. 10.; “And when they” (*i. e.* Saul and his company) “came thither to the hill, behold, a company of prophets met them,” &c. “A company of prophets,” that is, saith Drusius, “a company of students devoting themselves to the study of prophecy.”^a Where by the way observe, that those prophetic colleges were usually erected in remoter and higher places, on hills distant from towns and cities, as the fittest and most commodious places for a studious contemplative life. But more clear is that place, 1 Sam. xix. 20.; “And Saul sent messengers to take David: and when they saw the company of the prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing as appointed over them,” &c. Here we have plainly a college or society of prophets together, and Samuel appointed as president of the college.

Of “the sons of the prophets,” or those students that entered themselves in the colleges of the prophets, to be instructed by their several presidents, we have express mention 2 Kings, ii., where^b we read of “the sons of the prophets” that were at Bethel coming to Elisha, and giving him warning that Elias should presently be taken from him. And^c there is mention made of another college of prophets at Jericho, who afterwards^d,

^a Cohors studiosorum operam dantium prophetiæ.

^b Verse 3. ^c Verse 7. ^d Verse 15.

are said to have done reverence to Elisha succeeding Elias.

So in 2 Kings, iv. 38., we read, that Elisha being at Gilgal, "the sons of the prophets were sitting before him;" viz. in the posture of disciples and scholars, to learn and receive instruction from their master. And because the disciples sat in a lower form or seat, under their masters and teachers, they are said to sit at their feet. Hence the people of Israel's receiving the law from God is thus expressed, "They sat down at Thy feet; every one shall receive of Thy words."^a So St. Paul is said to have been "brought up," or educated, "at the feet of Gamaliel."^b

The business of these colleges of the prophets is by learned men described to be this: they were taught by their presidents the law of God; they were instructed in the prophecies of those prophets that went before them; they were taught by what ways and means they might obtain the gift of prophecy, or the increase of it; they were informed what was the scope and signification of the sacrifices and ceremonial laws, by which the things that were to come to pass in the time of the Messiah were prefigured; and, in a word, they were in those colleges taught the whole mystery of the Jewish religion, according to the time and age, and their several capacities. So that even prophecy was a science among the ancient Jews, and men were trained up to it by discipline and education.

I shall only add, that Daniel, the most excellent of

^a Deut. xxxiii. 3.

^b Acts, xxii. 3.

prophets, (though the latter Jews, out of prejudice, will scarce allow him a room or place in that sacred order,) is not ashamed to confess, that he had learned something by reading the writings of the Prophet Jeremiah that was before him^a; “I, Daniel, understood by books the number of years, whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the Prophet.” Which also may serve to confirm what was said before, that the sons of the prophets in their colleges were instructed in the prophecies of those prophets who were before them. For if so accomplished a prophet as Daniel made use of the books of the preceding prophets, we may be sure that those young novices in the study of prophecy were taught by their masters diligently to peruse them.

And this may suffice for the proof of my latter observation, viz. That even the divinely inspired persons and ministers of God did not so wholly depend upon divine inspiration, but that they made use also of the ordinary helps and means; such as reading of books, with study and meditation on them, for their assistance in the discharge of their office.

I now proceed to the use and improvement of this doctrine.

1. This serves to discover the folly of those who renounce all books and book learning as needless, and of no use to them; and bid defiance to all study and reading, under pretence of a spirit or light within them, sufficiently able to direct and guide them in all things. Of which sort the sect called Quakers are especially to

^a Dan. ix. 2.

be noted. For you see the great Apostle St. Paul read books, not only sacred but human, and had his parchments, probably collections of notes gathered out of the books that he had read; and that the same St. Paul exhorts his beloved Timothy, an archbishop in the apostolic church, to the same diligence in reading and studying, that he might be the better enabled for the discharge of his duty; and, lastly, that the prophets themselves under the Old Testament observed the same method. What an insufferable impudence, then, are they guilty of, who nowadays decry all reading, study, and learning, and rely only on enthusiasm and immediate inspiration! The apostles, the prophets, and other undoubtedly inspired persons, thought that necessary, which these men (that cannot give the least proof of any such inspiration in themselves) despise as wholly useless to them. Let me advise them to consider, that the Spirit of God, even in the times of the extraordinary dispensation of it, was never given to any but the diligent and industrious, and such as did their best to attain divine wisdom; not only by praying for it, but also by reading and studying the books and writings of the wise men that were before them. Let them consider, that the Spirit of God never dwelt with the slothful or lazy; or with those who, presuming on its inspiration, neglected the use of those ordinary means of getting knowledge which Providence afforded them. The Divine assistance and human industry always went together hand in hand, and an anathema is due to that doctrine that separates and divides them.

And yet, see the age we live in! enthusiasm and

atheism divide the spoil, and the former makes way for the latter, till at length it be devoured by it. In the mean while, enthusiasm fills the conventicle and empties the church: silly people dance after its pipe, and are lured by it from their lawful, orthodox teachers, to run they know not whither, to hear they know not whom, and to learn they know not what. And till the minds of men are better informed and possessed with righter notions of things, it is impossible they should ever be brought to any regular and sober religion. Nothing in religion will nowadays be acceptable to many, but what pretends to a more immediate inspiration from God; and the bare colour thereof, be it never so small and slender, will almost make any thing pass for current divinity. Let a man preach without authority, and without book, and make show as if he did it extempore, and by the sudden suggestion of the Spirit, and he shall be cried up by the vulgar, though he deliver the plainest nonsense. No discourse will please them, but that which is not only delivered without book, (for so to do is no fault, but rather commendable, when it is added as an ornament to a well-studied and substantial discourse, and done without vanity, and occasions no expense of time, that might be spent to better purpose,) but also pretended to be made without book, that is, without consulting beforehand the books of the wise and learned. Thus the people are deceived, and love to be so; and who can help it?

And yet my charity prompts me to try a dilemma on these miserably deluded persons. They that tell you they preach without the help of any precedent reading

or study, by a mere and immediate dependence on the assistance of the Spirit, either they say true or false: if what they say be true, they are guilty of a very great and intolerable presumption, in despising those helps which the divinely inspired persons, both under the Old and New Testament, thought useful to them; if they tell you that which is false, and, whilst they pretend to immediate inspiration, use the help of reading and study, you are to shun them as liars and cheats, and to have no more to do with them. The truth is, the men with whom we have to do are of two sorts, each of which must needs fall under the one or the other part of the dilemma. Some of them do indeed in their profession renounce, and in their practice too much neglect, reading and study, as sufficiently appears by the fulsome repetitions, impertinence, nonsense, and, too often, heresies and blasphemies, in their discourses: others take some pains for what they do, and show something of industry and diligence in their performances, easily to be discovered by a more careful observer of them, and thereby betray the fraud and falsehood of their pretences.

Intolerable is the consequence of the error I am now reproving; for it directly tends to the perfect frenzy and madness of those who declaim against the nurseries of learning, the Universities themselves, as the nurseries of men that will, by their carnal reasoning and learning, obstruct the advancement of the more spiritual Gospel. Alas! what will this conceit bring men to at length, but barbarism and confusion? And who are the authors that teach these silly men to decry learning, but

the Papists, whom yet they seem most of all to defy? For take away universities and learning, and they are sure of their opportunity, and that the more ignorant will in tract of time be easily brought to any religion, and so to theirs. If learning and the schools of learning be once suppressed among us, we shall in a little time have no learned men to stand in the gap, and to keep out Popery. *Hoc Ithacus velit*; this is that which the Jesuit would have, and passionately desires. In short, Popery was born and bred in ignorant and unlearned ages; and as soon as learning revived, Popery began to decline, till at last the happy Reformation ensued, which we now enjoy; and if ever learning run to decay again, we must expect to relapse into Popery, or something else as bad as or worse than that.

But let us proceed in the improvement of the doctrine we are now upon.

2. This may teach all ministers of the gospel their duty; viz. diligently to read and study the Holy Scriptures in the first place; and next to them the books of learned and good men that have bestowed their pains in explaining them, and whatever books besides they can get which may be any way useful to them in their ministry.

It is the note of the learned and judicious Estius upon the text: "Let bishops and priests," saith he, "learn from hence what great need they have of continual reading and study, how great soever their proficiency may already be; seeing St. Paul, who had been taught the mysteries of religion by the Lord Christ himself, and now a long time exercised in the office of an

apostle, had still occasion to make use of books." And when we consider how strict a charge the [same] apostle gives Timothy, that great apostolic prelate, to apply himself to reading and study; and that the inspired prophets, under the Old Testament, thought the same exercises necessary for themselves; how dare we, (very mushrooms, the best of us, compared to them,) either, through pride, scorn and reject; or, out of sloth and laziness, neglect those helps? We ought not in the least to value the clamours of the wild fanatics among us, who cry out, "That if we study for what we do, we do it not by the Spirit;" as if the assistance of the Spirit and human industry were inconsistent with, yea, repugnant to each other. For, on the contrary, we may be assured, from what hath been said, that the Spirit of God will help none but the studious and industrious. Let us therefore give attendance to reading and study, yea, addict ourselves wholly to these exercises, with daily prayer to God for His blessing on them, that our profiting may appear unto all men.

3. And lastly, this may serve to instruct also lay Christians in their duty of diligently reading the sacred Scriptures, and those other good books that God's providence hath furnished them with, in order to their instruction in the matters of religion. If the ministers of Christ, yea, the very apostles of Christ, have thought reading and study useful to them, can you think you have no need at all of it? It is true, more time and pains in those exercises is required of the ministers of religion, than of others; but none are wholly exempted and excused from the duty; because all men are bound

to be “wise unto salvation,” and to be so requires no small pains and industry. Ministers are to read, that they may be able to teach; and you are to read, that you may be capable of learning, or being taught. For unless there be a concurrent industry in the teacher and the disciple, the one teacheth in vain, because the other will never learn.

Be sure, therefore, daily to read the Holy Scriptures, and those other good books you have or can procure, that may help you to understand them. And if any of you cannot read yourselves, (I hope there are very few, if any, in this congregation under so unhappy circumstances,) get some relation, friend, or neighbour to read to you; and they must be very uncharitable indeed that will deny you that assistance. They that cannot read are concerned to double their diligence in hearing, and in a more careful attendance on all opportunities of instruction that shall be offered them in public, and in asking and seeking after instruction from their ministers in private, adding their daily and most earnest prayers to God for the assistance of His Holy Spirit in the use of those means, and encouraging themselves with that promise of His^a; “If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him.”

In a word, let none of you think or imagine divine wisdom and knowledge so cheap a thing as to be obtained without labour and diligence. And remember that it is worth your while and pains to learn the right

^a James, i. 5.

way to heaven ; for if you miss it, you are undone for ever.

Wherefore “ consider what I say, and the Lord give you understanding in all things.”

To God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be ascribed all honour and glory, adoration and worship, now and for ever. Amen.

VIA INTELLIGENTIÆ.

[BISHOP TAYLOR.]

A SERMON PREACHED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN, SHOWING BY WHAT
MEANS THE SCHOLARS SHALL BECOME MOST LEARNED AND MOST USEFUL.

JOHN, vii. 17.

*If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine,
whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself.*

THE ancients, in their mythological learning, tell us, that when Jupiter espied the men of the world striving for truth, and pulling her in pieces to secure her to themselves, he sent Mercury down amongst them, and he, with his usual arts, dressed error up in the imagery of truth, and thrust her into the crowd, and so left them to contend still; and though then, by contention, men were sure to get but little truth, yet they were as earnest as ever, and lost peace too, in their importune contentions for the very image of truth. And this, indeed, is no wonder; but when truth and peace are brought into the world together, and bound up in the same bundle of life, — when we are taught a religion by the Prince of Peace, who is the Truth itself, to see men contending for this truth to the breach of that peace; and when men fall out, to see that they should make Christianity their theme; that is one of the great-

est wonders in the world. For Christianity is *ἡμερος καὶ φιλάνθρωπος νομοθεσία*, a soft and gentle institution; *ὑγρὸν καὶ μείλιχον ἦθος*, it was brought into the world to soften the asperities of human nature, and to cure the barbarities of evil men, and the contentions of the passionate. The eagle, seeing her breast wounded, and espying the arrow that hurt her to be feathered, cried out, *πτερόν με τὸν πτερωτὸν ὀλλύει*, the feathered nation is destroyed by their own feathers; that is, a Christian fighting and wrangling with a Christian. And, indeed, that is very sad; but wrangling about peace too: that peace itself should be the argument of a war, that is unnatural; and if it were not that there are many who are *homines multæ religionis, nullius pene pietatis*, men of much religion and little godliness, it would not be that there should be so many quarrels in and concerning that religion which is wholly made up of truth and peace, and was sent amongst us to reconcile the hearts of men when they were tempted to uncharitableness by any other unhappy argument. Disputation cures no vice, but kindles a great many, and makes passion evaporate into sin; and though men esteem it learning, yet it is the most useless learning in the world. When Eudamidas, the son of Archidamus, heard old Xenocrates disputing about wisdom, he asked, very soberly, “If the old man be yet disputing and inquiring concerning wisdom, what time will he have to make use of it?” Christianity is all for practice, and so much time as is spent in quarrels about it is a diminution to its interest: men inquire so much what it is, that they have but little time left to be Christians. I remember a saying

of Erasmus, that when he first read the New Testament with fear and a good mind, with a purpose to understand it and obey it, he found it very useful and very pleasant; but when, afterwards, he fell on reading the vast differences of commentaries, then he understood it less than he did before — then he began not to understand it: for, indeed, the truths of God are best dressed in the plain culture and simplicity of the Spirit; but the truths that men commonly teach are like the reflections of a multiplying glass; for one piece of good money you shall have forty that are fantastical, and it is forty to one if your finger hit upon the right. Men have wearied themselves in the dark, having been amused with false fires; and instead of going home, have wandered all night *ἐν ὁδοῖς ἀβάραις*, in untrodden, unsafe, uneasy ways; but have not found out what their soul desires. But, therefore, since we are so miserable, and are in error, and have wandered very far, we must do as wandering travellers use to do, go back just to that place from whence they wandered, and begin upon a new account. Let us go to the Truth itself, to Christ, and he will tell us an easy way of ending all our quarrels; for we shall find Christianity to be the easiest and the hardest thing in the world: it is like a secret in arithmetic, infinitely hard till it be found out by a right operation; and then it is so plain, we wonder we did not understand it earlier.

Christ's way of finding out of truth is by doing the will of God. We will try that by and by, if possible we may find that easy and certain; in the mean time, let us consider what ways men have propounded to find

out truth, and upon the foundation of that to establish peace in Christendom.

1. That there is but one true way, is agreed upon; and therefore almost every church of one denomination that lives under government propounds to you a system or collective body of articles, and tells you, that is the true religion, and they are the church, and the peculiar people of God: like Brutus and Cassius, of whom one says, *Ubicunque ipsi essent, prætexebant esse rempublicam*, they supposed themselves were the commonwealth; and these are the church, and out of this church they will hardly allow salvation. But of this there can be no end; for divide the church into twenty parts, and in what part soever your lot falls, you and your party are damned by the other nineteen; and men on all hands almost keep their own proselytes by affrighting them with the fearful sermons of damnation; but, in the mean time, here is no security to them that are not able to judge for themselves, and no peace for them that are.

2. Others cast about to cure this, and conclude that it must be done by submission to an infallible guide; this must do it, or nothing; and this is the way of the church of Rome: follow but the pope and his clergy, and you are safe, at least as safe as their warrant can make you. Indeed, this were a very good way, if it were a way at all; but it is none: for this can never end our controversies, not only because the greatest controversies are about this infallible guide; but also because, 1. We cannot find that there is upon earth any such guide at all: 2. We do not find it necessary

that there should: 3. We find that they who pretend to be this infallible guide, are themselves infinitely deceived: 4. That they do not believe themselves to be infallible, whatever they say to us, because they do not put an end to all their own questions that trouble them: 5. Because they have no peace but what is constrained by force and government: 6. And lastly, because, if there were such a guide, we should fail of truth by many other causes; for it may be that guide would not do his duty, or we are fallible followers of this infallible leader, or we should not understand his meaning at all times, or we should be perverse at some times, or something as bad, because we all confess that God is an infallible guide, and that some way or other he does teach us sufficiently, and yet it does come to pass by our faults that we are as far to seek for peace and truth as ever.

3. Some very wise men, finding this to fail, have undertaken to reconcile the differences of Christendom by a way of moderation. Thus they have projected to reconcile the Papists and the Lutherans, the Lutherans and the Calvinists, the Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants, and project that each side should abate of their asperities, and pare away something of their propositions, and join in common terms and phrases of accommodation, each of them sparing something, and promising they shall have a great deal of peace for the exchange of a little of their opinion. This was the way of Cassander, Modrevius, Andreas Frisius, Erasmus, Spalato, Grotius, and indeed of Charles the Fifth in part, but something more heartily of Ferdinand the

Second. This device produced the conferences at Poissy, at Montpellier, at Ratisbon, at the Hague, at many places more. And what was the event of these? Their parties, when their delegates returned, either disclaimed their moderation, or their respective princes had some other ends to serve, or they permitted the meetings upon uncertain hopes, and a trial if any good might come; or it may be they were both in the wrong, and their mutual abatement was nothing but a mutual quitting of what they could not get, and the shaking hands of false friends; or it may be it was all of it nothing but hypocrisy and arts of craftiness, and, like Lucian's man, every one could be a man and a pestle when he pleased. And the council of Trent, though under another cover, made use of the artifice, but made the secret manifest and common: for at this day the Jesuits in the questions *de auxiliis Divinæ gratiæ* have prevailed with the Dominicans to use their expressions, and yet they think they still keep the sentence of their own order. From hence can succeed nothing but folly and a fantastic peace. This is but the skinning of an old sore: it will break out upon all occasions.

4. Others, who understand things beyond the common rate, observing that many of our controversies and peevish wranglings are kept up by the ill stating of the question, endeavour to declare things wisely, and make the matter intelligible, and the words clear; hoping by this means to cut off all disputes. Indeed this is a very good way, so far as it can go; and would prevail very much, if all men were wise, and would consent to those statings, and would not fall out upon the main inquiry

when it were well stated. But we find by a sad experience that few questions are well stated; and when they are, they are not consented to; and when they are agreed on by both sides that they are well stated, it is nothing else but a drawing up the armies in *battalia* with great skill and discipline: the next thing they do is, they thrust their swords into one another's sides.

5. What remedy after all this? Some other good men have propounded one way yet: but that is a way of peace rather than truth; and that is, that all opinions should be tolerated and none persecuted, and then all the world will be at peace. Indeed this relies upon a great reasonableness; not only because opinions cannot be forced, but because if men receive no hurt it is to be hoped they will do none. But we find that this alone will not do it; for besides that all men are not so just as not to do any injury (for some men begin the evil) — besides this, I say, there are very many men amongst us who are not content that you permit them; for they will not permit you, but rule over your faith, and say that their way is not only true, but necessary; and therefore the truth of God is at stake, and all indifference and moderation is carnal wisdom, and want of zeal for God: nay, more than so, they preach for toleration when themselves are under the rod, who, when they got the rod into their own hands, thought toleration itself to be intolerable. Thus do the papists, and thus the Calvinists; and for their cruelty they pretend charity. They will, indeed, force you to come in; but it is in true zeal for your soul: and if they do you violence, it is no more than if they pull your

arm out of joint, when, to save you from drowning, they draw you out of a river; and if you complain, it is no more to be regarded than the outcries of children against their rulers, or sick men against physicians. But as to the thing itself, the truth is, it is better in contemplation than practice: for reckon all that is got by it when you come to handle it, and it can never satisfy for the infinite disorders happening in the government; the scandal to religion, the secret dangers to public societies, the growth of heresy, the nursing up of parties to a grandeur so considerable as to be able in their own time to change the laws and the government. So that if the question be, whether mere opinions are to be persecuted, it is certainly true they ought not; but if it be considered how by opinions men rifle the affairs of kingdoms, it is also as certain, they ought not to be made public and permitted. And what is now to be done? Must truth be for ever in the dark, and the world for ever be divided, and societies disturbed, and governments weakened, and our spirits debauched with error and the uncertain opinions and the pedantry of talking men? Certainly there is a way to cure all this evil; and the wise Governor of all the world hath not been wanting in so necessary a matter as to lead us into all truth. But the way hath not yet been hit upon; and yet I have told you all the ways of man and his imaginations in order to truth and peace: and you see these will not do; we can find no rest for the soles of our feet amidst all the waters of contention, and disputations, and little artifices of divided schools. "Every man is a liar," and his understanding is weak, and his

propositions uncertain, and his opinions trifling, and his contrivances imperfect, and neither truth nor peace does come from man. I know I am in an auditory of inquisitive persons, whose business is to study for truth, that they may find it for themselves and teach it unto others. I am in a school of prophets and prophets' sons, who all ask Pilate's question, "What is truth?" You look for it in your books, and you tug hard for it in your disputations, and you derive it from the cisterns of the fathers, and you inquire after the old ways, and sometimes are taken with new appearances, and you rejoice in false lights, or are delighted with little umbrages and peep of day. But where is there a man, or a society of men, that can be at rest in his inquiry, and is sure he understands all the truths of God? Where is there a man, but the more he studies and inquires, still he discovers nothing so clearly as his own ignorance? This is a demonstration that we are not in the right way, that we do not inquire wisely, that our method is not artificial. If men did fall upon the right way, it were impossible so many learned men should be engaged in contrary parties and opinions. We have examined all ways but one, all but God's way. Let us (having missed in all the other) try this: let us go to God for truth; for truth comes from God only, and his ways are plain, and his sayings are true, and his promises "yea and amen." And if we miss the truth, it is because we will not find it: for certain is it, that all that truth which God hath made necessary, he hath also made legible and plain; and if we will open our eyes, we shall see the sun; and if "we will walk in the light, we

shall rejoice in the light:" only let us withdraw the curtains — let us remove the "impediments and the sin that doth so easily beset us:" that is God's way. Every man must in his station do that portion of duty which God requires of him, and then he shall be taught of God all that is fit for him to learn. There is no other way for him but this. "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and a good understanding have all they that do thereafter."^a And so said David of himself, "I have more understanding than my teachers; because I keep thy commandments."^b And this is the only way which Christ hath taught us. If you ask, "What is truth?" you must not do as Pilate did, ask the question, and then go away from him that only can give you an answer: for as God is the author of truth, so he is the teacher of it; and the way to learn it is this of my text: for so saith our blessed Lord, "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God or no."

3. My text is simple as truth itself, but greatly comprehensive, and contains a truth that alone will enable you to understand all mysteries, and to expound all prophecies, and to interpret all scriptures, and to search into all secrets; all, I mean, which concern our happiness and our duty: and it being an affirmative hypothetical, is plainly to be resolved into this proposition — the way to judge of religion is by doing of our duty; and theology is rather a divine life than a divine knowledge. In heaven, indeed, we shall first see, and then love;

^a Psalm, cxi. 10.

^b Psalm, cxix.

but here on earth we must first love, and love will open our eyes as well as our hearts; and we shall then see, and perceive, and understand.

In the handling of which proposition I shall first represent to you that the certain causes of our errors are nothing but direct sins: nothing makes us fools and ignorants but living vicious lives: and then I shall proceed to the direct demonstration of the article in question, that holiness is the only way of truth and understanding.

1. No man understands the Word of God as it ought to be understood, unless he lays aside all affections to sin: of which, because we have taken very little care, the product hath been, that we have had very little wisdom, and very little knowledge in the ways of God. *Κακία ἐστὶ φθαρτικὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς*, said Aristotle, wickedness does corrupt a man's reasoning, it gives him false principles and evil measures of things. The sweet wine that Ulysses gave to the Cyclops put his eye out; and a man that hath contracted evil affections, and made a league with sin, sees only by those measures. A covetous man understands nothing to be good that is not profitable; and a voluptuous man likes your reasoning well enough if you discourse of *bonum jucundum*, the pleasures of the sense, the ravishments of lust, the noises and inadvertencies, the mirth and songs of merry company; but if you talk to him of the melancholy lectures of the cross, the content of resignation, the peace of meekness, and the joys of the Holy Ghost, and of rest in God, after your long discourse and his great silence he cries out, "What's the matter?" He knows not

what you mean. Either you must fit his humour, or change your discourse.

I remember that Arianus tells of a gentleman that was banished from Rome, and in his sorrow visited the philosopher, and he heard him talk wisely, and believed him, and promised him to leave all the thoughts of Rome and splendours of the court, and retire to the course of a severe philosophy : but before the good man's lectures were done, there came *πινυκίδες ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος*, letters from Cæsar to recall him home, to give him pardon, and promise him great employment. He presently grew weary of the good man's sermon, and wished he would make an end, thought his discourse was dull and flat ; for his head and heart were full of another story and new principles ; and by these measures he could hear only and he could understand.

Every man understands by his affections more than by his reason : and when the wolf in the fable went to school to learn to spell, whatever letters were told him, he could never make anything of them but *Agnus* ; he thought of nothing but his belly : and if a man be very hungry, you must give him meat before you give him counsel. A man's mind must be like your proposition before it can be entertained ; for whatever you put into a man, it will smell of the vessel : it is a man's mind that gives the emphasis, and makes your argument to prevail.

And upon this account it is that there are so many false doctrines in the only article of repentance. Men know they must repent, but the definition of repentance they take from the convenience of their own affairs ;

what they will not part with, that is not necessary to be parted with; and they will repent, but not restore: they will say *nollem factum*, they wish they had never done it; but since it is done, you must give them leave to rejoice in their purchase; they will ask forgiveness of God; but they sooner forgive themselves, and suppose that God is of their mind: if you tie them to hard terms, your doctrine is not to be understood, or it is but one doctor's opinion, and therefore they will fairly take their leave, and get them another teacher.

What makes these evil, these dangerous and desperate doctrines? Not the obscurity of the thing, but the cloud upon the heart; for say you what you will, he that hears must be the expounder, and we can never suppose but a man will give sentence in behalf of what he passionately loves. And so it comes to pass, that, as Rabbi Moses observed, as God for the greatest sin imposed the least oblation, as a she-goat for the sin of idolatry; for a woman accused of adultery, a barley-cake; so do most men: they think to expiate the worst of their sins with a trifling, with a pretended, little insignificant repentance. God indeed did so, that the cheapness of the oblation might teach them to hope for pardon, not from the ceremony, but from a severe internal repentance. But men take any argument to lessen their repentance, that they may not lessen their pleasures or their estates, and that repentance may be nothing but a word, and mortification signify nothing against their pleasures, but be a term of art only, fitted for the schools or for the pulpit, but nothing relative to practice, or the extermination of their sin. So that it is no wonder we un-

derstand so little of religion: it is because we are in love with that which destroys it; and as a man does not care to hear what does not please him, so neither does he believe it; he cannot, he will not understand it.

And the same is the case in the matter of pride; the church hath extremely suffered by it in many ages. Arius missed a bishopric, and therefore turned heretic; *ἐτάρασσε τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν*, saith the story, he disturbed and shook the church; for he did not understand this truth, that the peace of the church was better than the satisfaction of his person, or the promoting his foolish opinion. And do not we see and feel that at this very day the pride of men makes it seem impossible for many persons to obey their superiors? and they do not see what they can read every day, that it is a sin to speak evil of dignities.

A man would think it a very easy thing to understand the 13th chapter to the Romans, "Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God:" and yet we know a generation of men to whom these words were so obscure, that they thought it lawful to fight against their king. A man would think it easy to believe that those who were in the gainsaying of Corah, who rose up against the high-priest, were in a very sad condition; and yet there are too many amongst us who are in the gainsaying of Corah, and think they do very well — that they are the godly party, and the good people of God. Why, what's the matter? In the world there can be nothing plainer than these words, "Let every soul be subject to the higher

powers; and that you need not make a scruple who are these higher powers it is as plainly said, "There is no power but of God;" all that are set over you by the laws of your nation, these are over you in the Lord: and yet men will not understand these plain things; they deny to do their notorious duty, and yet believe they are in the right; and if they sometimes obey for wrath, they oftener disobey for conscience sake. Where is the fault? The words are plain, the duty is certain, the book lies open; but, alas! it is sealed within; that is, men have eyes, and will not see; ears, and will not hear. But the wonder is the less; for we know, when God said to Jonas, "Doest thou well to be angry?" he answered God to his face, "I do well to be angry, even unto the death." Let God declare his mind never so plainly, if men will not lay aside the evil principle that is within, their open love to their secret sin, they may kill an apostle, and yet be so ignorant as to think they do God good service; they may disturb kingdoms, and break the peace of a well-ordered church, and rise up against their fathers, and be cruel to their brethren, and stir up the people to sedition; and all this with a cold stomach and a hot liver, with a hard heart and a tender conscience, with humble carriage and a proud spirit. For thus men hate repentance, because they scorn to confess an error; they will not return to peace and truth, because they fear to lose the good opinion of the people whom themselves have cozened; they are afraid to be good, lest they should confess they have formerly done amiss: and he that observes how much evil is done, and how many heresies are risen, and how much

obstinacy and unreasonable perseverance in folly dwells in the world upon the stock of pride, may easily conclude that no learning is sufficient to make a proud man understand the truth of God, unless he first learn to be humble. But *obedite et intelligetis* (saith the prophet), obey and be humble; leave the foolish affections of sin, and then ye shall understand. That is the first particular; all remaining affections to sin hinder the learning and understanding of the things of God.

2. He that means to understand the will of God and the truth of religion must lay aside "all inordinate affections to the world," 2 Cor. iii. 14. Saint Paul complained that there was "at that day a veil upon the hearts of the Jews in the reading of the Old Testament;" they looked for a temporal prince to be their Messias, and their affections and hopes dwelt in secular advantages: and so long as that veil was there, they could not see, and they would not accept the poor despised Jesus.

For the things of the world, besides that they entangle one another, and make much business, and spend much time, they also take up the attentions of a man's mind, and spend his faculties, and make them trifling and secular with the very handling and conversation. And therefore the Pythagoreans taught their disciples *χωρισμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, εἰς τὸ καλῶς φιλοσοφεῖν*, a separation from the things of the body, if they would purely find out truth and the excellencies of wisdom. Had not he lost his labour that would have discoursed wisely to Apicius, and told him of the books of fate, and the secrets of the other world, the abstractions of the

soul and its brisker immortality, that saints and angels eat not, and that the spirit of a man lives for ever upon wisdom, and holiness, and contemplation? The fat glutton would have stared awhile upon the preacher, and then have fallen asleep. But if you had discoursed well and knowingly of a lamprey, a large mullet, or a boar, *animal propter convivium natum*, and have sent him a cook from Asia to make new sauces, he would have attended carefully, and taken in your discourses greedily. And so it is in the questions and secrets of Christianity; which made St. Paul, when he intended to convert Felix, discourse first with him about temperance, righteousness, and judgment to come. He began in the right point; he knew it was to no purpose to preach Jesus Christ crucified to an intemperate person, to an usurper of other men's rights, to one whose soul dwelt in the world, and cared not for the sentence of the last day. The philosophers began their wisdom with the meditation of death, and St. Paul his with the discourse of the day of judgment: to take the heart off from this world and the amiabilities of it, which dishonour and baffle the understanding, and made Solomon himself become a child and fooled into idolatry by the prettiness of a talking woman. Men now-a-days love not a religion that will cost them dear. If your doctrine calls upon men to part with any considerable part of their estates, you must pardon them if they cannot believe you; they understand it not. I shall give you one great instance of it.

When we consider the infinite unreasonableness that is in the Popish religion, how against common sense

their doctrine of transubstantiation is, how against the common experience of human nature is the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility, how against Scripture is the doctrine of indulgences and purgatory, we may well think it a wonder that no more men are persuaded to leave such unlearned follies. But then, on the other side, the wonder will cease, if we mark how many temporal ends are served by these doctrines. If you destroy the doctrine of purgatory and indulgences, you take away the priest's income, and make the see apostolic to be poor; if you deny the Pope's infallibility, you will despise his authority, and examine his propositions, and discover his failings, and put him to answer hard arguments, and lessen his power: and, indeed, when we run through all the propositions of difference between them and us, and see that in every one of them they serve an end of money or of power, it will be very visible that the way to confute them is not by learned disputations, (for we see they have been too long without effect, and without prosperity,) the men must be cured of their affections to the world, *ut nudi nudum sequantur crucifixum*, that with naked and divested affections they might follow the naked crucified Jesus, and then they would soon learn the truths of God, which till then will be impossible to be apprehended. Ἐν προσποιήσει ἐξηγήσεως τὰ ἑαυτοῦ παρεισάγουσιν, Men (as St. Basil says), when they expound Scripture, always bring in something of themselves; but till there be (as one said) ἀνάβασις ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου, a rising out from their own seats, until they go out from their dark dungeons, they can never see the light of heaven. And how many

men are there amongst us who are therefore enemies to the religion, because it seems to be against their profit? The argument of Demetrius is unanswerable; by this craft they get their livings: leave them in their livings, and they will let your religion alone; if not, they think they have reason to speak against it. When men's souls are possessed with the world, their souls cannot be invested with holy truths. *Χρὴ ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν ψυχὴν ψυχοῦσθαι*, as St. Isidore said: the soul must be informed, insouled, or animated with the propositions that you put in, or you shall never do any good, or get disciples to Christ. Now, because a man cannot serve two masters; because he cannot vigorously attend two objects; because there can be but one soul in any living creature; if the world have got possession, talk no more of your questions, shut your Bibles, and read no more of the words of God to them, for "they cannot tell of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or of the world." That is the second particular: worldly affections hinder true understandings in religion.

3. No man, how learned soever, can understand the Word of God, or be at peace in the questions of religion, unless he be a "master over his passions."

" Tu quoque si vis lumine claro
Cernere verum, gaudia pelle,
Pelle Timorem : nubila mens est
Vinetaque frænis hæc ubi regnant,

said the wise Boethius; a man must first learn himself before he can learn God. *Tua te fallit Imago*: nothing deceives a man so soon as a man's self; when a man is (that I may use Plato's expression) *συμπεφυρμένος τῇ*

γενέσει, mingled with his nature and his congenial infirmities of anger and desire, he can never have any thing but ἀμυδρὸν δόξαν, a knowledge partly moral and partly natural: his whole life is but imagination; his knowledge is inclination and opinion; he judges of heavenly things by the measures of his fears and his desires, and his reason is half of it sense, and determinable by the principles of sense. Εἶγε ὅτι φιλοσοφεῖς ἐν πάθεσι, then a man learns well when he is a philosopher in his passions.^a Passionate men are to be taught the first elements of religion: and let men pretend to as much learning as they please, they must begin again at Christ's cross; they must learn true mortification and crucifixion of their anger and desires before they can be good scholars in Christ's school, or be admitted into the more secret inquiries of religion, or profit in spiritual understanding. It was an excellent proverb of the Jews, *In passionibus Spiritus Sanctus non habitat*, the Holy Ghost never dwells in the house of passion. Truth enters into the heart of man when it is empty and clean, and still; but when the mind is shaken with passion as with a storm, you can never hear the "voice of the charmer, though he charm very wisely:" and you will very hardly sheath a sword when it is held by a loose and paralytic arm. He that means to learn the secrets of God's wisdom must be, as Plato says, τὴν λογικὴν ζοὴν οὐσιωμένος, his soul must be consubstantiated with reason, not invested with passion: to him that is otherwise things are but in the dark, his notion is obscure and his sight troubled; and therefore, though we often

^a Nazianz. ad. Philagrium.

meet with passionate fools, yet we seldom or never hear of a very passionate wise man.

I have now done with the first part of my undertaking, and proved to you that our evil life is the cause of our controversies and ignorances in religion and of the things of God. You see what hinders us from becoming good divines. But all this while we are but in the preparation to the mysteries of godliness; when we have thrown off all affections to sin; when we have stripped ourselves from all fond adherences to the things of the world, and have broken the chains and dominion of our passions, then we may say with David, *Ecce paratum est cor meum, Deus*; “My heart is ready, O God, my heart is ready:” then we may say, “Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth;” but we are not yet instructed. It remains, therefore, that we inquire what is that immediate principle or means by which we shall certainly and infallibly be led into all truth, and be taught the mind of God, and understand all his secrets; and this is worth our knowledge. I cannot say that this will end your labours, and put a period to your studies, and make your learning easy; it may possibly increase your labour, but it will make it profitable; it will not end your studies, but it will direct them; it will not make human learning easy, but it will make it “wise unto salvation,” and conduct it into true notices and ways of wisdom.

I am now to describe to you the right way of knowledge: *Qui facit voluntatem Patris mei* (saith Christ), that is the way; “do God’s will, and you shall under-

stand God's word." And it was an excellent saying of St. Peter, "Add to your faith virtue, &c. If these things be in you and abound, ye shall not be unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ."^a For in this case it is not enough that our hindrances of knowledge are removed; for that is but the opening of the covering of the Book of God; but when it is opened, it is written with a hand that every eye cannot read. Though the windows of the east be open, yet every eye cannot behold the glories of the sun: Ὁφθαλμὸς μὴ ἡλιοειδὴς γινόμενος ἥλιον οὐ βλέπει, saith Plotinus; the eye that is not made solar cannot see the sun; the eye must be fitted to the splendour: and it is not the wit of the man, but the spirit of the man; not so much his head as his heart, that learns the Divine philosophy.

1. Now in this inquiry I must take one thing for a *præcognitum*, that every good man is θεοδίδακτος, he is "taught of God:" and, indeed, unless he teach us we shall make but ill scholars ourselves, and worse guides to others. *Nemo potest Deum scire, nisi à Deo doceatur*, said St. Irenæus (lib. vi. cap. xiii.): If God teaches us, then all is well; but if we do not learn wisdom at His feet, from whence should we have it? it can come from no other spring. And therefore it naturally follows, that by how much nearer we are to God, by so much better we are like to be instructed.

But this being supposed, as being most evident, we can easily proceed by wonderful degrees and steps of progression in the economy of this Divine philosophy; for,

^a 2 Pet. i.

2. There is in every righteous man a new vital principle; the Spirit of grace is the Spirit of wisdom, and teaches us by secret inspirations, by proper arguments, by actual persuasions, by personal applications, by effects and energies; and as the soul of a man is the cause of all his vital operations, so is the Spirit of God the life of that life, and the cause of all actions and productions spiritual: and the consequence of this is what St. John tells us of, "Ye have received the unction from above, and that anointing teacheth you all things."^a All things of some one kind; that is, certainly, "all things that pertain to life and godliness;" all that by which a man is wise and happy. We see this by common experience. Unless the soul have a new life put into it, unless there be a vital principle within, unless the Spirit of life be the informer of the spirit of the man, the Word of God will be as dead in the operation as the body in its powers and possibilities. *Sol et homo generant hominem*, saith our philosophy: a man alone does not beget a man, but a man and the sun; for without the influence of the celestial bodies all natural actions are ineffective; and so it is in the operations of the soul.

Which principle divers fanatics, both among us and in the Church of Rome, misunderstanding, look for new revelations, and expect to be conducted by ecstasy, and will not pray but in a transfiguration, and live upon raptures and extravagant expectations, and separate themselves from the conversation of men by affectations, by new measures and singularities, and destroy order, and despise government, and live upon illiterate phan-

^a 1 John, ii. 27.

tasms and ignorant discourses. These men do ψεύδῃσθαι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, “they belie the Holy Ghost:” for the Spirit of God makes men wise; it is an evil spirit that makes them fools. The Spirit of God makes us “wise unto salvation:” it does not spend its holy influences in disguises and convulsions of the understanding: God’s Spirit does not destroy reason, but heightens it; he never disorders the beauties of government, but is a God of order; it is the spirit of humility, and teaches no pride; he is to be found in churches and pulpits, upon altars, and in the doctors’ chairs; not in conventicles and mutinous corners of a house: he goes in company with his own ordinances, and makes progressions by the measures of life; his infusions are just as our acquisitions, and his graces pursue the methods of nature: that which was imperfect he leads on to perfection, and that which was weak he makes strong: he opens the heart, not to receive murmurs or to attend to secret whispers, but to hear the Word of God; and then he opens the heart, and creates a new one; and without this new creation, this new principle of life, we may hear the Word of God, but we can never understand it; we hear the sound, but are never the better; unless there be in our hearts a secret conviction by the Spirit of God, the Gospel itself is a dead letter, and worketh not in us the light and righteousness of God.

Do not we see this by daily experience? Even those things which a good man and an evil man know, they do not know them both alike. A wicked man does know that good is lovely, and sin is of an evil and de-

structive nature; and when he is reproved he is convinced; and when he is observed he is ashamed; and when he has done he is unsatisfied; and when he pursues his sin he does it in the dark. Tell him he shall die, and he sighs deeply, but he knows it as well as you; proceed, and say, that after death comes judgment, and the poor man believes and trembles; he knows that God is angry with him; and if you tell him that for aught he knows he may be in hell to-morrow, he knows that it is an intolerable truth, but it is also undeniable. And yet, after all this, he runs to commit his sin with as certain an event and resolution as if he knew no argument against it: these notices of things terrible and true pass through his understanding as an eagle through the air; as long as her flight lasted the air was shaken, but there remains no path behind her.

Now since at the same time we see other persons, not so learned it may be, not so much versed in Scriptures, yet they say a thing is good and lay hold of it; they believe glorious things of heaven, and they live accordingly, as men that believe themselves; half a word is enough to make them understand, a nod is a sufficient reproof; the crowing of a cock, the singing of a lark, the dawning of the day, and the washing their hands, are to them competent memorials of religion, and warnings of their duty. What is the reason of this difference? They both read the Scriptures, they read and hear the same sermons, they have capable understandings, they both believe what they hear and what they read, and yet the event is vastly different. The reason is that which I am now speaking of; the one understands

by one principle, the other by another; the one understands by nature, and the other by grace; the one by human learning, and the other by divine; the one reads the Scriptures without, and the other within; the one understands as a son of man, the other as a son of God; the one perceives by the proportions of the world, and the other by the measures of the Spirit; the one understands by reason, and the other by love; and therefore he does not only understand the sermons of the Spirit, and perceives their meaning; but he pierces deeper, and knows the meaning of that meaning; that is, the secret of the Spirit, that which is spiritually discerned, that which gives life to the proposition, and activity to the soul. And the reason is, because he hath a divine principle within him, and a new understanding; that is plainly, he hath love, and that is more than knowledge; as was rarely well observed by St. Paul, "Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth;" that is, charity makes the best scholars. No sermons can edify you, no scriptures can build you up a holy building to God, unless the love of God be in your hearts, and purify your souls from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit.

But so it is in the regions of stars, where a vast body of fire is so divided by eccentric motions, that it looks as if nature had parted them into orbs and round shells of plain and purest materials. But where the cause is simple and the matter without variety, the motions must be uniform; and in heaven we should either espy no motion, or no variety. But God, who designed the heavens to be the causes of all changes and motions here below, hath placed his angels in their houses of light,

and given to every one of his appointed officers a portion of the fiery matter to circumagitate and roll; and now the wonder ceases, for if it be enquired why this part of the fire runs eastward, and the other to the south, they being both indifferent to either, it is because an angel of God sits in the centre and makes the same matter turn, not by the bent of its own mobility and inclination, but in order to the needs of man, and the great purposes of God. And so it is in the understandings of men; when they all receive the same notions, and are taught by the same master, and give full consent to all the propositions, and can of themselves have nothing to distinguish them in the events, it is because God has sent his divine Spirit, and kindles a new fire, and creates a braver capacity, and applies the actives to the passives, and blesses their operation; for there is in the heart of man such a dead sea, and an indisposition to holy flames, like as in the cold rivers in the north, so as the fires will not burn them, and the sun itself will never warm them, till God's Holy Spirit does from the temple of the New Jerusalem bring a holy flame, and make it shine and burn.

“ The natural man (saith the holy Apostle) cannot perceive the things of the Spirit; they are foolishness unto him, for they are spiritually discerned^a:” for he that discourses of things by the measures of sense, thinks nothing good but that which is delicious to the palate, or pleases the brutish part of man; and therefore, while he estimates the secrets of religion by such measures, they must needs seem as insipid as cork or

^a 1 Cor. ii. 14.

the unconditèd mushroom, for they have nothing at all of that in their constitution. A voluptuous person is like the dogs of Sicily, so filled with the deliciousness of plants that grow in every furrow and hedge, that they can never keep the scent of their game. Ἀδύνατον ἀναμίξαι ὕδατι πῦρ· οὕτως οἶμαι τρυφήν καὶ κατάνυξιν, said St. Chrysostom, the fire and water can never mingle; so neither can sensuality and the watchfulness and wise discerning of the Spirit. *Pilato interroganti de veritate, Christus non respondit*; when the wicked governor asked of Christ concerning truth, Christ gave him no answer: he was not fit to hear it.

He therefore who so understands the words of God, that he not only believes but loves the proposition; he who consents with all his heart, and, being convinced of the truth, does also apprehend the necessity, and obeys the precept, and delights in the discovery, and lays his hand upon his heart, and reduces the notices of things to the practice of duty; he who dares trust his proposition, and drives it on to the utmost issue, resolving to go after it whithersoever it can invite him; this man walks in the Spirit; at least thus far he is gone towards it, his understanding is brought *in obsequium Christi*, into the obedience of Christ. This is a loving God with all our mind; and whatever goes less than this is but memory, and not understanding; or else such notice of things by which a man is neither the wiser nor the better.

3. Sometimes God gives to his choicest, his most elect and precious servants, a knowledge even of secret things which he communicates not to others. We find

it greatly remarked in the case of Abraham, Gen. xviii. 17. : “ And the Lord said, Shall I hide from Abraham that thing that I do ? ” Why not from Abraham ? God tells us, ver. xix. : “ For I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him ; and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment.” And though this be irregular and infrequent, yet it is a reward of their piety, and the proper increase also of the spiritual man. We find this spoken by God to Daniel, and promised to be the lot of the righteous man in the days of the Messias, Dan. xii. 10. “ Many shall be purified, and made white, and tried ; but the wicked shall do wickedly.” And what then ? “ None of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand.” Where besides that the wise man and the wicked are opposed, plainly signifying that the wicked man is a fool and an ignorant ; it is plainly said that none of the wicked shall understand the wisdom and mysteriousness of the kingdom of the Messias.

4. A good life is the best way to understand wisdom and religion, because by the experiences and relishes of religion there is conveyed to them such a sweetness, to which all wicked men are strangers : there is in the things of God to them which practise them a deliciousness that makes us love them, and that love admits us into God’s cabinet, and strangely clarifies the understanding by the purification of the heart. For when our reason is raised up by the Spirit of Christ, it is turned quickly into experience ; when our faith relies upon the principles of Christ, it is changed into vision ; and so long as we know God only in the ways of man,

by contentious learning, by arguing and dispute, we see nothing but the shadow of him, and in that shadow we meet with many dark appearances, little certainty, and much conjecture. But when we know him λόγῳ ἀποφαντικῷ, γαλήνῃ νοερᾷ, with the eyes of holiness and the intuition of gracious experiences, with a quiet spirit and the peace of enjoyment; then we shall hear what we never heard, and see what our eyes never saw; then the mysteries of godliness shall be opened unto us, and clear as the windows of the morning. And this is rarely well expressed by the Apostle, “If we stand up from the dead and awake from sleep, then Christ shall give us light.”^a

For although the Scriptures themselves are written by the Spirit of God, yet they are written within and without: and besides the light that shines upon the face of them, unless there be a light shining within our hearts, unfolding the leaves, and interpreting the mysterious sense of the Spirit, convincing our consciences and preaching to our hearts, to look for Christ in the leaves of the Gospel, is to look for the living amongst the dead. There is a life in them, but that life is (according to St. Paul’s expression) hid with Christ in God: and unless the Spirit of God be the *promo-condus*, we shall never draw it forth.

Human learning brings excellent ministries towards this: it is admirably useful for the reproof of heresies, for the detection of fallacies, for the letter of the Scripture, for collateral testimonies, for exterior advantages; but there is something beyond this, that human learn-

^a Eph. v. 14.

ing, without the addition of divine, can never reach. Moses was learned in all the learning of the Egyptians; and the holy men of God contemplated the glories of God in the admirable order, motion, and influences of the heaven: but besides all this, they were taught of God something far beyond these prettinesses. Pythagoras read Moses's books, and so did Plato; and yet they became not proselytes of the religion, though they were learned scholars of such a master. The reason is, because that which they drew forth from thence was not the life and secret of it.

“ Tradidit arcano quodcunque volumine Moses.

There is a secret in these books which few men, none but the godly, did understand; and though much of this secret is made manifest in the Gospel, yet even here, also, there is a letter and there is a spirit; still there is a reserve for God's secret ones, even all those deep mysteries which the Old Testament covered in figures, and stories, and names, and prophecies, and which Christ hath, and by his Spirit will yet reveal more plainly to all that will understand them by their proper measures. For although the Gospel is infinitely more legible and plain than the obscurer leaves of the law, yet there is a seal upon them also, “ which seal no man shall open but he that is worthy.” We may understand something of it by the three children of the captivity; they were all skilled in all the wisdom of the Chaldees, and so was Daniel; but there was something beyond that in him: “ the wisdom of the most high God was in him,” and that taught him a learning beyond his learning.

In all Scripture there is a spiritual sense, a spiritual cabala, which as it tends directly to holiness, so it is best and truest understood by the sons of the Spirit, who love God, and therefore know him. Γνώσις ἐκάστων δι' ὁμοιότητα γίνεται, everything is best known by its own similitudes and analogies.

But I must take some other time to speak fully of these things. I have but one thing more to say, and then I shall make my applications of this doctrine, and so conclude.

5. Lastly, there is a sort of God's dear servants who walk in perfectness, who "perfect holiness in the fear of God;" and they have a degree of clarity and divine knowledge more than we can discourse of, and more certain than the demonstrations of geometry, brighter than the sun, and indeficient as the light of heaven. This is called by the Apostle the ἀπαύγασμα τοῦ Θεοῦ. Christ is this brightness of God, manifested in the hearts of his dearest servants.

Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ ἐς καθαρῶν μερόπων φρένα πυρσὸν ἀνάπτω
Εὐμαθίης.

But I shall say no more of this at this time, for this is to be felt, and not to be talked of; and they that never touched it with their finger may secretly, perhaps, laugh at in their heart, and be never the wiser. All that I shall now say of it is, that a good man is united unto God κέντρον κέντρῳ συνάψας, as a flame touches a flame, and combines into splendour and to glory; so is the spirit of a man united unto Christ by the Spirit of God. These are the friends of God, and they best know God's mind, and they only that are so know how

much such men do know. They have a special “unction from above.” So that now you are come to the top of all; this is the highest round of the ladder, and the angels stand upon it: they dwell in love and contemplation, they worship and obey, but dispute not: and our quarrels and impertinent wranglings about religion are nothing else but the want of the measures of this state. Our light is like a candle, every wind of vain doctrine blows it out, or spends the wax, and makes the light tremulous; but the lights of heaven are fixed and bright, and shine for ever.

But that we may speak not only things mysterious, but things intelligible; how does it come to pass, by what means and what economy is it effected, that a holy life is the best determination of all questions, and the surest way of knowledge? Is it to be supposed that a godly man is better enabled to determine the questions of purgatory or transubstantiation? Is the gift of chastity the best way to reconcile Thomas and Scotus? And is a temperate man always a better scholar than a drunkard? To this I answer, that in all things in which true wisdom consists, holiness, which is the best wisdom, is the surest way of understanding them. And this —

1. Is effected by holiness as a proper and natural instrument; for, naturally, every thing is best discerned by its proper light and congenial instrument.

Γαῖη μὲν γάρ γαῖαν ὁπώπαμεν, ὕδατι δ' ὕδωρ.

For as the eye sees visible objects, and the understanding perceives the intellectual, so does the Spirit the things of the Spirit. “The natural man,” saith St. Paul, “knows not the things of God, for they are spiritually

discerned;" that is, they are discovered by a proper light; and concerning these things an unsanctified man discourses pitifully, with an imperfect idea, as a blind man does of light and colours which he never saw.

A good man, though unlearned in secular notices, is like the windows of the temple, narrow without, and broad within; he sees not so much of what profits not abroad, but whatsoever is within, and concerns religion and the glorifications of God, that he sees with a broad inspection. But all human learning without God is but blindness and ignorant folly.

But when it is *δικαιοσύνη βεβαμμένος εἰς βάθος τῆς ἀληθείας*, righteousness dipped in the wells of truth, it is like an eye of gold in a rich garment, or like the light of heaven: it shows itself by its own splendour. What learning is it to discourse of the philosophy of the sacrament, if you do not feel the virtue of it? And the man that can with eloquence and subtlety discourse of the instrumental efficacy of baptismal waters, talks ignorantly in respect of him who hath the answer of a good conscience within, and is cleansed by the purifications of the Spirit. If the question concern anything that can perfect a man and make him happy, all that is the proper knowledge and notice of the good man. How can a wicked man understand the purities of the heart? and how can an evil and unworthy communicant tell what it is to have received Christ by faith, to dwell with him, to be united to him, to receive him in his heart? The good man only understands that: the one sees the colour, and the other feels the substance; the one discourses of the

sacrament, and the other receives Christ; the one discourses for or against transubstantiation, but the good man feels himself to be changed, and so joined to Christ; that he only understands the true of sense of transubstantiation while he becomes to Christ bone of his bone, flesh of his flesh, and of the same spirit with his Lord.

We talk much of reformation, and (blessed be God!) once we have felt the good of it; but of late we have smarted under the name and pretension. The woman that lost her groat, *everrit domum*, not *evertit*; she swept the house, she did not turn the house out of doors. That was but an ill reformation that untiled the roof and broke the walls, and was digging down the foundation.

Now, among all the pretensions of reformation, who can tell better what is and what is not true reformation, than he that is truly reformed himself? He knows what pleases God, and can best tell by what instruments he is reconciled. "The mouth of the just bringeth forth wisdom, and the lips of the righteous know what is acceptable^a," saith Solomon. He cannot be cozened by names of things, and feels that reformation to be imposture that is sacrilegious; himself is humble and obedient, and therefore knows that is not truth that persuades to schism and disobedience; and most of the questions of Christendom are such which either are good for nothing, and therefore to be laid aside, or if they be complicated with action, and are ministries of practice, no man can judge them so well as the spiritual man. That which best pleases God,

^a Prov. x. 31, 32.

that which does good to our neighbour, that which teaches sobriety, that which combines with government, that which speaks honour of God, and does him honour, that only is truth. Holiness, therefore, is a proper and natural instrument of Divine knowledge, and must needs be the best way of instruction in the questions of Christendom, because in the most of them a duty is complicated with the proposition.

No man that intends to live holily can ever suffer any pretences of religion to be made to teach him to fight against his king. And when the men of Geneva turned their bishop out of doors, they might easily have considered that the same person was their prince too; and that must needs be a strange religion that rose up against Moses and Aaron at the same time: but that hath been the method ever since. There was no church till then was ever governed without an apostle or a bishop; and since then, they who go from their bishop have said very often to their king too, *nolumus hunc regnare*. And when we see men pretending religion, and yet refuse to own the king's supremacy, they may, upon the stock of holiness, easily reprove their own folly, by considering that such recusancy does introduce into our churches the very worst, the most intolerable parts of popery; for perfect submission to kings is the glory of the Protestant cause: and really the reproveable doctrines of the Church of Rome are by nothing so much confuted, as that they destroy good life by consequent and evident deduction, as by an induction of particulars were easy to make apparent if this were the proper season for it.

2. Holiness is not only an advantage to the learning all wisdom and holiness, but for the discerning that which is wise and holy from what is trifling and useless and contentious; and to one of these heads all questions will return; and therefore, in all, from holiness we have the best instructions. And this brings me to the next particle of the general consideration. For that which we are taught by the Holy Spirit of God, this new nature, this vital principle within us, it is that which is worth our learning; not vain and empty, idle and insignificant notions, in which when you have laboured till your eyes are fixed in their orbs, and your flesh unfixed from its bones, you are no better and no wiser. If the Spirit of God be your teacher, he will teach you such truths as will make you know and love God, and become like to him, and enjoy him for ever, by passing from similitude to union and eternal fruition. But what are you the better if any man should pretend to teach you whether every angel makes a species, and what is the individuation of the soul in the state of separation? What are you the wiser if you should study and find out what place Adam should for ever have lived in if he had not fallen; and what is any man the more learned if he hears the disputes, whether Adam should have multiplied children in the state of innocence, and what would have been the event of things if one child had been born before his father's sin?

Too many scholars have lived upon air and empty notions for many ages past, and troubled themselves with tying and untying knots, like hypochondriacs in a fit of melancholy, thinking of nothing, and troubling

themselves with nothing, and falling out about nothings, and being very wise and very learned in things that are not and work not, and were never planted in Paradise by the finger of God. Men's notions are too often, like the mules, begotten by equivocal and unnatural generations; but they make no species: they are begotten, but they can beget nothing; they are the effects of long study, but they can do no good when they are produced: they are not that which Solomon calls *viam intelligentiæ*, the way of understanding. If the Spirit of God be our teacher, we shall learn to avoid evil and to do good, to be wise and to be holy, to be profitable and careful; and they that walk in this way shall find more peace in their consciences, more skill in the Scriptures, more satisfaction in their doubts, than can be obtained by all the polemical and impertinent disputations of the world. And if the Holy Spirit can teach us how vain a thing it is to do foolish things, he also will teach us how vain a thing it is to trouble the world with foolish questions, to disturb the Church for interest or pride, to resist government in things indifferent, to spend the people's zeal in things unprofitable, to make religion to consist in outsides, and opposition to circumstances and trifling regards. No, no; the man that is wise, he that is conducted by the Spirit of God, knows better in what Christ's kingdom does consist, than to throw away his time and interest, and peace and safety; for what? for religion? no: for the body of religion? not so much: for the garment of the body of religion? no, not for so much; but for the fringes of the garment of the body of religion; for such and no better are the disputes that

trouble our discontented brethren: they are things, or rather circumstances and manners of things, in which the soul and spirit is not at all concerned.

3. Holiness of life is the best way of finding out truth and understanding; not only as a natural medium, nor only as a prudent medium, but as a means by way of divine blessing. "He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him."^a Here we have a promise for it; and upon that we may rely.

The old man that confuted the Arian priest by a plain recital of his creed, found a mighty power of God effecting his own work by a strange manner, and by a very plain instrument; it wrought a divine blessing just as sacraments use to do; and this lightning sometimes comes in a strange manner as a peculiar blessing to good men. For God kept the secrets of his kingdom from the wise heathens and the learned Jews, revealing them to babes; not because they had less learning, but because they had more love: they were children and babes in malice, they loved Christ, and so he became to them a light and a glory. St. Paul had more learning than they all; and Moses was instructed in all the learning of the Egyptians; yet because he was the meekest man upon earth, he was also the wisest, and to his human learning in which he was excellent, he had a divine light and excellent wisdom superadded to him by way of spiritual blessings. And St. Paul, though he went very far to the knowledge of many

^a John, xiv. 21.

great and excellent truths by the force of human learning, yet he was far short of perfective truth and true wisdom till he learned a new lesson in a new school, at the feet of one greater than his Gamaliel; his learning grew much greater, his notions brighter, his skill deeper, by the love of Christ, and his desires, his passionate desires after Jesus.

The force and use of human learning, and of this divine learning I am now speaking of, are both well expressed by the prophet Isaiah, xxix. 11, 12.: "And the vision of all is become unto you as the words of a book that is sealed, which men deliver to one that is learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee: and he saith, I cannot, for it is sealed. And the book is delivered to him that is not learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee: and he saith, I am not learned." He that is no learned man, who is not bred up in the schools of the prophets, cannot read God's book for want of learning. For human learning is the gate and first entrance of divine vision; not the only one indeed, but the common gate. But beyond this there must be another learning; for he that is learned, bring the book to him, and you are not much the better as to the secret part of it, if the book be sealed, if his eyes be closed, if his heart be not opened, if God does not speak to him in the secret way of discipline. Human learning is an excellent foundation; but the top stone is laid by love and conformity to the will of God. For we may further observe, that blindness, error, and ignorance are the punishments which God sends upon wicked and ungodly men. *Etiam si propter nostræ intelligentiæ tarditatem, et vitæ*

demeritum veritas nondum se apertissime ostenderit, was St. Austin's expression: The truth hath not yet been manifested fully to us, by reason of our demerits; our sins have hindered the brightness of the truth from shining upon us. And St. Paul observes, that when the heathens "gave themselves over to lusts, God gave them over to strong delusions, and to believe a lie." But "God giveth to a man that is good in his sight, wisdom, and knowledge, and joy^a," said the wise Preacher. But this is most expressly promised in the New Testament, and particularly in that admirable sermon which our blessed Saviour preached a little before his death. "The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things."^b Well, there is our teacher told of plainly. But how shall we obtain this teacher, and how shall we be taught? Ver. 15, 16, 17. Christ will "pray for us" that we may have this Spirit. That is well: but shall all Christians have the Spirit? Yes, all that will live like Christians; for so said Christ, "If ye love me, keep my commandments; and I will pray the Father, and he will give you another Comforter, that may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of Truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him. Mark these things. The Spirit of God is our teacher; he will abide with us for ever to be our teacher; he will teach us all things; but how? If ye love Christ, if ye keep his commandments, but not else; if ye be of the world, that is, of worldly affections, ye cannot see him, ye cannot know him. And this is the

^a Rom. i. 25. Eccles. ii. 26.^b John, xiv. 26.

particular I am now to speak to: the way by which the Spirit of God teaches us in all the ways and secrets of God, is love and holiness.

Secreta Dei Deo nostro et filiis domus ejus, God's secrets are to himself and the sons of his house, saith the Jewish proverb. Love is the great instrument of Divine knowledge, that is, the ὑψίμα τῶν διασκομένων, the height of all that is to be taught or learned. Love is obedience, and we learn his words best when we practise them: ἃ γὰρ δεῖ μανθάνοντας ποιεῖν ταῦτα ποιοῦντες μανθάνομεν, said Aristotle^a; those things which they that learn ought to practise, even while they practise they will best learn. *Quisquis non venit, profectò nec didicit. Ita enim Dominus docet per Spiritus gratiam, ut quod quisque didicerit, non tantum cognoscendo videat, sed etiam volendo appetat et agendo perficiat.*^b *St. Austin De Gratia Christi*, lib. i. c. 14. Unless we come to Christ, we shall never learn: for so our blessed Lord teaches us by the grace of his Spirit, that what any one learns, he not only sees it by knowledge, but desires it by choice, and perfects it by practice.

4. When this is reduced to practice and experience, we find, not only in things of practice, but even in deepest mysteries, not only the choicest and most eminent saints, but even every good man can best tell what is true, and best reprove an error.

He that goes about to speak of and to understand the mysterious Trinity, and does it by words and names of man's invention, or by such which signify contingently,

^a Lib. ii. Ethic. c. i.

^b "Nullum bonum perfectè noscitur quod non perfectè amatur." Aug. l. 83. qu. de Gratiâ Christi.

if he reckons this mystery by the mythology of numbers, by the cabala of letters, by the distinctions of the school, and by the weak inventions of disputing people; if he only talks of essences and existences, hypostases and personalities, distinctions without difference, and priority in coequalities, and unity in pluralities, and of superior predicates of no larger extent than the inferior subjects, he may amuse himself, and find his understanding will be like St. Peter's upon the Mount of Tabor at the Transfiguration. He may build three tabernacles in his head, and talk something, but he knows not what. But the good man that feels the power of the Father, and he to whom the Son is become "wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption" — he in whose heart the love of the Spirit of God is spread, to whom God hath communicated the Holy Ghost, the Comforter; this man, though he understands nothing of that which is unintelligible, yet he only understands the mysteriousness of the Holy Trinity. No man can be convinced well and wisely of the article of the holy, blessed, and undivided Trinity, but he that feels the mightiness of the Father begetting him to a new life, the wisdom of the Son "building him up in a most holy faith," and the love of the Spirit of God making him to become like unto God.

He that hath passed from his childhood in grace under the spiritual generation of the Father, and is gone forward to be a young man in Christ, strong and vigorous in holy actions and holy undertakings, and from thence is become an old disciple, and strong and grown old in religion, and the conversation of the Spirit; this man

best understands the secret and undiscernable economy, he feels this unintelligible mystery, and sees with his heart what his tongue can never express, and his metaphysics can never prove. In these cases faith and love are the best knowledge, and Jesus Christ is best known by “the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ;” and if the kingdom of God be “in us,” then we know God, and are known of him; and when we communicate of the Spirit of God, when we pray for him, and have received him, and entertained him, and dwelt with him, and warmed ourselves by his holy fires, then we know him too. But there is no other satisfactory knowledge of the blessed Trinity but this: and therefore, whatever thing is spoken of God metaphysically, there is no knowing of God theologically, and as he ought to be known, but by the measures of holiness, and the proper light of the Spirit of God.

But in this case experience is the best learning, and Christianity is the best institution, and the Spirit of God is the best teacher, and holiness is the greatest wisdom; and he that sins most is the most ignorant, and the humble and obedient man is the best scholar. For the Spirit of God is a loving Spirit, and will not enter into a polluted soul: but “he that keepeth the law getteth the understanding thereof, and the perfection of the fear of the Lord is wisdom^a,” said the wise Ben-Sirach. And now give me leave to apply the doctrine to you, and so I shall dismiss you from this attention.

Many ways have been attempted to reconcile the differences of the Church in matters of religion, and all

^a Eccles. xxi. 11.

the counsels of man have yet proved ineffective. Let us now try God's method; let us betake ourselves to live holily, and then the Spirit of God will lead us into all truth. And, indeed, it matters not what religion any man is of, if he be a villain; the opinion of his sect, as it will not save his soul, so neither will it do good to the public. But this is a sure rule: if the holy man best understands wisdom and religion, then by the proportions of holiness we shall best measure the doctrines that are obtruded to the disturbance of our peace, and the dishonour of the Gospel. And therefore,

1. That is no good religion whose principles destroy any duty of religion. He that shall maintain it to be lawful to make a war for the defence of his opinion, be it what it will, his doctrine is against godliness. Anything that is proud—anything that is peevish and scornful—anything that is uncharitable, is against the *ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία*, that “form of sound doctrine” which the Apostle speaks of. And I remember that Ammianus Marcellinus telling of George, a proud and factious minister, that he was an informer against his brethren, he says, he did it *oblitus professionis suæ, quæ nil nisi justum suadet et lene*; he forgot his profession, which teaches nothing but justice and meekness, kindness and charity. And however Bellarmine and others are pleased to take but indirect and imperfect notice of it, yet goodness is the best note of the true Church.

2. It is but an ill sign of holiness when a man is busy in troubling himself and his superior in little scruples and fantastic opinions, about things not concerning the

life of religion, or the pleasure of God, or the excellencies of the Spirit. A good man knows how to please God, how to converse with him, how to advance the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, to set forward holiness, and the love of God and of his brother; and he knows also that there is no godliness in spending our time and our talk, our heart and our spirits, about the garments and outsides of religion. And they can ill teach others, that do not know that religion does not consist in these things; but obedience may, and reductively that is religion: and he that for that which is no part of religion destroys religion: directly, by neglecting that duty that is adopted into religion, is a man of fancy and of the world; but he gives but an ill account that he is a man of God, and a son of the Spirit.

Spend not your time in that which profits not; for your labour and your health, your time and your studies are very valuable; and it is a thousand pities to see a diligent and a hopeful person spend himself in gathering cockle-shells and little pebbles, in telling sands upon the shores, and making garlands of useless daisies. Study that which is profitable, that which will make you useful to churches and commonwealths, that which will make you desirable and wise. Only I shall add this to you, that in learning there are variety of things as well as in religion: there is mint and cummin, and there are the weighty things of the law; so there are studies more and less useful, and everything that is useful will be required in its time: and I may in this also use the words of our blessed Saviour, "These things ought you to" look after, and "not to leave the other" unre-

garded. But your great care is to be in the things of God and of religion, in holiness and true wisdom, remembering the saying of Origen, that the knowledge that arises from goodness is *θειότερόν τι πάσης ἀποδείξεως*, something that is more certain and more divine than all demonstration, than all other learnings of the world.

3. That is no good religion that disturbs government, or shakes a foundation of public peace. Kings and bishops are the foundations and the great principles of unity, of peace, and government; like Rachel and Leah, they build up the house of Israel: and those blind Sampsons that shake these pillars, intend to pull the house down. “My son, fear God and the king,” saith Solomon, “and meddle not with them that are given to change.” That is not truth that loves changes; and the new nothings of heretical and schismatical preachers are infinitely far from the blessings of truth.

In the holy language truth hath a mysterious name, *אמת* *emet*: it consists of three letters, the first and the last and the middlemost of the Hebrew letters; implying to us, that truth is first, and will be last, and it is the same all the way, and combines and unites all extremes; it ties all ends together. Truth is lasting, and ever full of blessing. For the Jews observe that those letters which signify truth are, both in the figure and the number quadrate, firm and cubical: these signify a foundation, and an abode for ever. Whereas, on the other side, the word which in Hebrew signifies a lie, *שקר* *secher*, is made of letters whose numbers are im-

perfect, and their figure pointed and voluble; to signify that a lie hath no foundation.

And this very observation will give good light in our questions and disputes. And I give my instance in episcopal government, which hath been of so lasting an abode, of so long a blessing, hath its firmament by the principles of Christianity, hath been blessed by the issues of that stabiliment; it hath for sixteen hundred years combined with monarchy, and hath been taught by the Spirit which hath so long dwelt in God's Church, and hath now (according to the promise of Jesus, that says "the gates of hell shall never prevail against" the Church) been restored amongst us by a heap of miracles; and as it went away, so now it is returned again in the hand of monarchy, and in the bosom of our fundamental laws. Now that doctrine must needs be suspected of error, and an intolerable lie, that speaks against this truth, which hath had so long a testimony from God, and from the wisdom and experience of so many ages, of all our ancestors, and all our laws.

When the Spirit of God wrote in Greek, Christ is called A and Ω ; if he had spoken Hebrew, he had been called א and נ , that is, אמת *emet*, he is truth, the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever: and whoever opposes this holy sanction which Christ's Spirit hath sanctified, his word hath warranted, his blessings have endeared, his promises have ratified, and his Church hath always kept; he fights against this אמת *emet*, and *secher* is his portion: his lot is a lie, his portion is there where holiness can never dwell.

And now, to conclude: to you, fathers and brethren,

you who are, or intend to be, of the clergy, you see here the best compendium of your studies, the best abbreviature of your labours, the truest method of wisdom, and the infallible, the only way of judging concerning the disputes and questions in Christendom. It is not by reading multitudes of books, but by studying the truth of God: it is not by laborious commentaries of the doctors that you can finish your work, but by the expositions of the Spirit of God; it is not by the rules of metaphysics, but by the proportions of holiness: and when all books are read, and all arguments examined, and all authorities alleged, nothing can be found to be true that is unholy. "Give yourselves to reading, to exhortation, and to doctrine," saith St. Paul. Read all good books you can; but exhortation unto good life is the best instrument and the best teacher of true doctrine, of that which is according to godliness.

And let me tell you this, the great learning of the fathers was more owing to their piety than to their skill—more to God than to themselves: and to this purpose is that excellent ejaculation of St. Chrysostom, with which I will conclude. "O blessed and happy men, whose names are in the book of life, from whom the devils fled, and heretics did fear them, who (by holiness) have stopped the mouths of them that spake perverse things! But I, like David, will cry out, 'Where are thy loving-kindnesses which have been ever of old?'"^a Where is the blessed quire of bishops and doctors, who shined like lights in the world, and

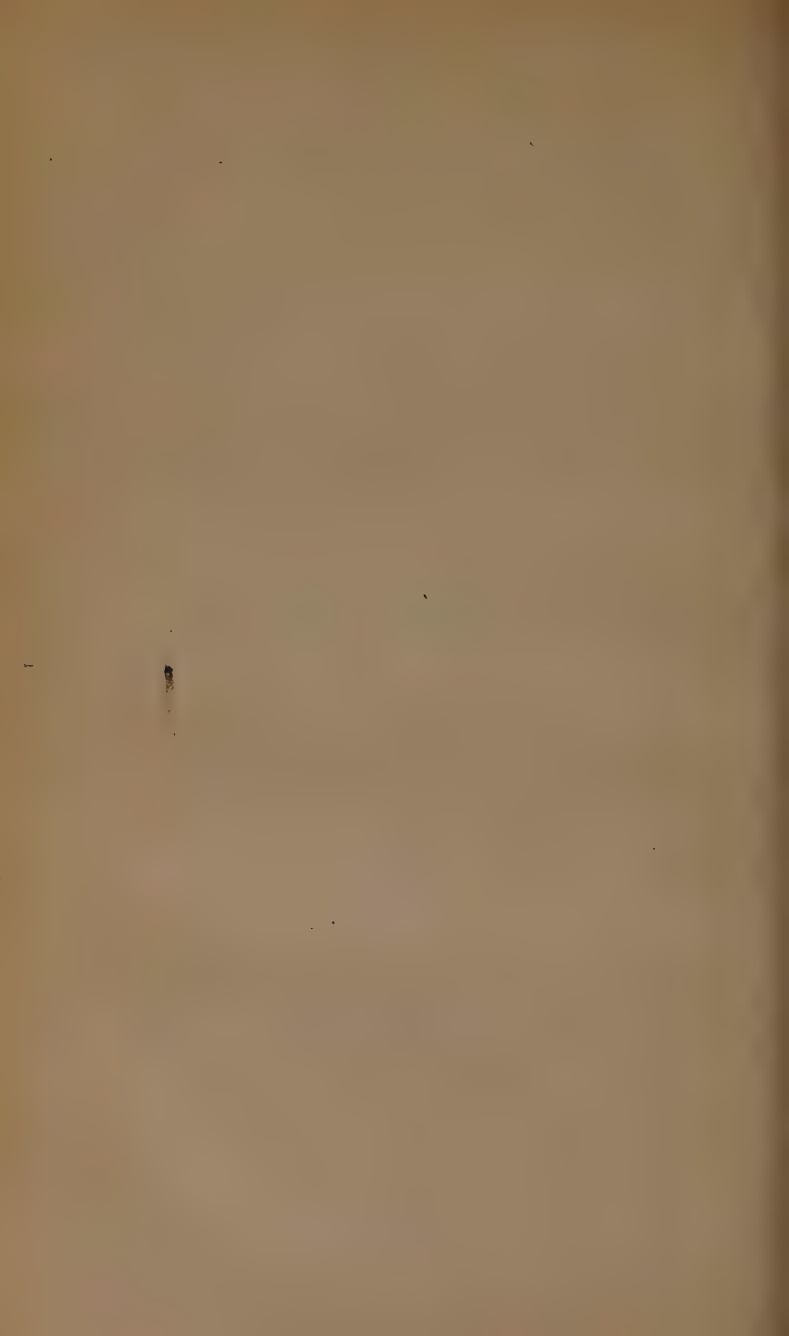
^a Lib. de Consummat. seculi inter opera. *Ephrem Syri.*

contained the word of life? *Dulce est meminisse*; their very memory is pleasant. Where is that Evodias, the sweet savour of the Church; the successor and imitator of the holy Apostles? Where is Ignatius, in whom God dwelt? Where is St. Dionysius the Areopagite, that bird of paradise, that celestial eagle? Where is Hippolytus, that good man, *ἀνὴρ χρηστὸς*, that gentle sweet person? Where is great St. Basil, a man almost equal to the Apostles? Where is Athanasius, rich in virtue? Where is Gregory Nyssen, that great divine? And Ephrem, the great Syrian, that stirred up the sluggish, and awakened the sleepers, and comforted the afflicted, and brought the young men to discipline; the looking-glass of the religious, the captain of the penitents, the destruction of heresies, the receptacle of graces, the habitation of the Holy Ghost?" These were the men that prevailed against error, because they lived according to truth; and whoever shall oppose you and the truth you walk by, may better be confuted by your lives than by your disputations. Let your adversaries have no evil thing to say of you, and then you will best silence them: for all heresies and false doctrines are but like Myron's counterfeit cow, it deceived none but beasts; and these can cozen none but the wicked and the negligent, them that love a lie, and live according to it. [But if ye become "burning and shining lights;" if ye do not "detain the truth in unrighteousness;" if ye "walk in light and live in the Spirit," your doctrines will be true, and that truth will prevail.] But if ye live wickedly and scandalously, every little schismatic shall put you to shame, and draw disciples

after him, and abuse your flocks, and feed them with colocynths and hemlock, and place heresy in the chairs appointed for your religion.

I pray God give you all grace to follow this wisdom, to study this learning, to labour for the understanding of godliness; so your time and your studies, your persons and your labours, will be holy and useful, sanctified and blessed, beneficial to men, and pleasing to God, through him who is the wisdom of the Father, who is made to all that love him wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption: To whom with the Father, &c.

THE ORDERING OF PRIESTS.



THE DIFFICULTY AND DANGER OF THE PRIESTLY OFFICE.

[BISHOP BULL.]

A VISITATION SERMON, CONCERNING THE GREAT DIFFICULTY AND DANGER
OF THE PRIESTLY OFFICE.

JAMES, iii. 1.

*My brethren, be not many masters, knowing that we shall
receive the greater condemnation.*

THE text may, at first sight, appear to some to stand at a very wide distance from the present occasion. But I hope, by that time I have spent a little pains in explaining it, I shall set the text and occasion at a perfect agreement.

The words, therefore, are by interpreters diversely expounded. Among the rest, two interpretations there are which stand as the fairest candidates for our reception.

1. Some understand the “masters” here in my text, to be proud, malicious censors, and judges of other men’s actions, and so expound the text as a prohibition of rash and uncharitable judgment, and make it parallel to that of our Saviour, “Judge not, that ye be not

judged.”^a Be not rash and hasty in censuring or judging the actions of others, or speaking evil of them, considering that, by so doing, you will but procure a greater judgment of God upon yourselves. The chief, if not the only argument for this interpretation, is the context of the Apostle’s discourse, which, in the following verses, is wholly spent against the vices of the tongue. But,

2. Others there are who interpret the “masters” in the text to be pastors or teachers in the church of God; and, accordingly, understand the words as a serious caution against the rash undertaking of the pastoral office or function, as an office attended with great difficulty and danger, a task very hard to be discharged, and wherein whoever miscarries makes himself thereby liable to a severer judgment of Almighty God.

This latter interpretation (with submission I speak it) seems to me, almost beyond doubt, the genuine sense of the Apostle. The reasons are evident in the text itself. For, 1. Unless we thus expound the words, it will be hard to give a rational account of this word πολλοί, “many,” why it should be inserted. For if we understand those masters the Apostle speaks of to be rash judges and censurers of others, it is most certain then, one such would be too many, and the multiplicity of them would not be the only culpable thing. But, on the other side, if we receive the latter interpretation, the account of the word πολλοί is easily rendered, according to the paraphrase of Erasmus, thus: “Let not pastors or teachers be too vulgar and cheap among

^a Matt. vii. 1.

you; let not every man rush into so sacred an office and function.”^a And Drusius’s gloss on this very word is remarkable: *Summa summarum: quo pauciores sunt magistri, eo melius agitur cum populo. Nam ut medicorum olim Cariam, ita doctorum et magistrorum nunc multitudo perdit rempublicam. Utinam vanus sim.* I need not English the words to those whom they concern.

2. If we embrace any other interpretation, we must of necessity depart from the manifest propriety of the Greek word which our translators render “masters.” The word is διδάσκαλοι, which whoso understands the first elements of the Greek tongue know to be derived from διδάσκω, “to teach,” and so literally to signify “teachers.” “Be not many teachers.”

And so, accordingly, the Syriac renders it by a word which the learned Drusius tells us is parallel to the Hebrew מורים, which undoubtedly signifies “doctors” or “teachers.”

These reasons are sufficient to justify our interpretation, though I might add the authority of the ancients, who generally follow this sense, as also the concurrent judgment of our most learned modern annotators, Erasmus, Vatablus, Castalio, Estius, Drusius, Grotius, with many others.

As for the connection of the words thus explained with the following discourse of the Apostle, I suppose this very easy account may be given of it. The moderation and government of the tongue (on which St. James, in the sequel of the chapter, wholly insists),

^a Ne passim ambiatis esse magistri.

though it be a general duty (for there is no man's tongue so lawless as to be exempted from the dominion of right reason and religion), yet it is a duty wherein the pastor or teacher hath a peculiar concern. The minister's tongue is a chief tool and instrument of his profession, that which, *ex officio*, he must often make use of: he lies under a necessity of speaking much and often; and the Wise Man tells us, "In the multitude of words there wanteth not sin."^a And certainly there is scarce any consideration more powerful, to deter a man from undertaking the office of a teacher, than this; how extremely difficult and almost impossible it is, for a man that speaks much and often, so to govern his tongue as to speak nothing that either is itself unfit, or in an unfit time, or after an undue manner; and yet how highly every teacher is concerned so to do.

So that it is a very easy knot to fasten my text to the next verse, thus: Let not every man ambitiously affect the office of a teacher in the church of God, considering that it is an office of great difficulty and danger, "for in many things we offend all; if any man offend not in word, the same is a perfect man," &c.: as if he had said, as there are many ways whereby the best of us do offend, so there is no way whereby we so easily fall into sin, as by that slippery member the tongue; and there is no man more exposed to this danger of transgressing with the tongue than the teacher, who makes so much and so frequent use of it. So that the teacher is τέλειος ἀνὴρ, "a rare and perfectly accomplished man indeed," that hath acquired the perfect

^a Prov. x. 19.

government of his tongue. He that can do that, who fails not in that piece of his duty, may easily also bridle his whole body, *i. e.* rightly manage himself in all the other parts of his pastoral office. But this, as it is very necessary, so it is extremely difficult, and therefore “be not many teachers.”^a

To this it will not be amiss to add what Grotius wisely observes, that the admonition of the Apostle concerning the vices of the tongue, subjoined to the caution in my text, “is chiefly directed against brawling and contentious disputers^b ;” such teachers as abuse their liberty of speaking unto loose discourses, and take occasion from thence to vent their own spleen and passions: men of intemperate spirits and virulent tongues, troublers rather than teachers of the people, whose tongues are indeed “cloven tongues of fire,” but not such as the Apostles were endowed with from above; as serving to burn rather than to enlighten; to kindle the flames of faction, strife, and contention, rather than those of piety and charity, in the Church of God.

And indeed the direful and tragical effects, which the Apostle in this chapter ascribes to the evil tongue, as that “it is a fire, a world of iniquity, defiling the whole body, setting on fire the course of nature, full of deadly poison^c,” &c. are such as are not so easily producible by the tongue of a private man as of a teacher; “whose discourse,” saith Erasmus, “spreads its poison by so

^a Μὴ πολλοὶ διδάσκαλοι γίνεσθε.

^b Maxime directa est in rixosos disputatores.

^c Φλογίζουσα τὸν τρόχον τῆς γενέσεως.

much the more generally and effectually, as the authority of the speaker is greater, and his advantage also of speaking to many.”^a

Having removed this seeming rub in the context, I return again to the text itself; wherein you may please to observe, 1. A serious dissuasive from the rash undertaking of the Pastoral office: “My brethren, be not many masters,” or teachers. 2. A solid argument or reason to enforce it, drawn from the difficulty and the danger thereof; “knowing that we shall receive,” &c. *μείζον κρίμα*, “a greater” or severer “judgment;” *i. e.* God will require more of us that are teachers than of others; we shall not escape or be acquitted in the Divine judgment at so easy a rate as they. There is a place in the excellent Book of Wisdom that is exactly parallel to my text, and gives great light to it.^b “A sharp judgment shall be to them that are in high places.”^c Where the *οἱ ὑπερέχοντες*, those that are “in high places” in the State, answer to the *διδάσκαλοι* in my text, the “teachers” in the Church: the *κρίσις ἀπότομος*, “the sharp,” or “the precise and severe judgment,” to the *μείζον κρίμα*, “the greater judgment” in the text.

I shall not at all insist on the first branch of the division, the dissuasive, as remembering that I am to preach not an Ordination, but a Visitation Sermon; and to discourse, not to candidates of Holy Orders, but to such as are already engaged in that sacred profession.

^a Cujus sermo hoc latius ac periculosius spargit suum venenum, quod auctoritate dicentis commendetur.

^b Chap. vi. 5.

^c Κρίσις ἀπότομος ἐν τοῖς ὑπερέχουσι γίνεται.

I come, therefore, to the reason or argument in the text (as of very much concernment to all that are in the Priestly office), drawn from the difficulty and danger thereof. To represent both which, as fully as my short allowance of time, and much shorter scantling of abilities will permit, shall be my present business.

And first, as to the difficulty of the teacher's office, it is a very great difficulty fully to explain it. So many are the branches of his duty, that it were a tedious labour to reckon them up. Lord! what a task is it then to discharge them! I shall content myself therefore, *rudi Minerva*, briefly and only in general to describe the chiefest requisites that are necessary to constitute a complete teacher in the Church of God, and even by that little which I shall say, I doubt not but it will appear, how very formidable, how tremendous an undertaking, that function deserves to be accounted. The teacher's office, then, requires a very large knowledge, a great prudence, an exemplary holiness. And surely much is required of him of whom these things are required.

1. Then, the first requisite to the office of a teacher is a very large knowledge. The very name of his office implies this; he is *διδάσκαλος*, "a teacher;" and he that is such must be, as the Apostle requires ^a, "apt, or fit to teach." ^b And this he cannot be, unless he be "well learned ^c" and instructed himself, and furnished with a plentiful measure of Divine knowledge. God himself,

^a 1 Tim. iii. 2.

^b *Διδακτικός*, aptus, sive idoneus ad docendum.

^c *Διδακτός*, doctus.

by the prophet Malachi, requires “that the priest’s lips” *לִשְׁמֹרֶת יִשְׁמְרוּ* “should keep or preserve knowledge.”^a Methinks the expression is more emphatical than is ordinarily conceived. It seems to imply, that the priest should be a kind of repository or treasury of knowledge, richly furnished with knowledge himself, and able also abundantly to furnish and supply the wants of those that shall at any time have recourse to him for instruction. And therefore it presently follows; “and they” (that is, the people) “shall seek the law at his mouth.” Yea, the words import that the Priest should be a treasury of knowledge not to be exhausted.

He must have knowledge, not only to spend, but to keep; not like those that live from hand to mouth, or whose stock of knowledge is quickly spent in a few sermons, but he must have something still reserved and laid up in store. Methinks our Saviour doth excellently expound this text, though it be by a parable: “Every scribe that is instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, is like unto a man that is an householder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old;”^b where the *γραμματεὺς*, or “scribe,” is the same among the Jews with the *νομοδιδάσκαλος*, “the teacher or expounder of the law.” And it is the usual custom of our Saviour, as Grotius observes, “by names in use among the Jews, to express such offices as were to be in the Christian Church.”^c The *γραμματεὺς*, then, or scribe, is the same with the *διδάσκαλος*, or teacher, afterwards

^a Chap. ii. 7.

^b Matt. xiii. 52.

^c *Nominibus apud Judæos receptis significare munia, quæ futura erant in Ecclesia Christiana.*

in the Church of Christ. This scribe is said by our Saviour to be “instructed unto,” or for, “the kingdom heaven,”^a *i. e.* well prepared, provided, furnished for the preaching of the Gospel. And to show that he is so, he is compared to the householder, who, for the maintaining of his family, and the entertainment of his guests all the year long, is supposed to have an ἀποθήκη, or repository for provisions (called here his θησαυρός, “his treasure”), and there to have laid in provisions καινὰ καὶ παλαιὰ, “both new and old,” *i. e.* a great store and abundance, provisions of all sorts and kinds. As the Spouse in the Canticles tells her beloved^b, “At our gates are all manner of fruits, both new and old, which I have laid up for thee.” This kind of hospitality (however, by the iniquity of an ungrateful sacrilegious age, he may be disabled from exercising the other) is the indispensable duty of the pastor or teacher. He must keep a table well furnished with these heavenly provisions for all comers.

The knowledge of a teacher, we shall easily grant, extends itself into a very large compass, if we consider what that science is that he is to teach; theology, “the art of arts, and the science of sciences,”^c as Nazianzen speaks; the queen and mistress of all other disciplines, to which they do all but *ancillare*, perform the office of handmaids, and yet in so doing they are of use and service to her.

And upon that account the Divine, if he will be com-

^a Μαθητευθεὶς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.

^b Chap. vii. 13.

^c Τέχνη τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστήμη ἐπιστημῶν.

plete, must be *πανεπιστήμων*, must have compassed the *ἐνκυκλοπαιδεία*, in the modern and more noble signification of the word; i. e. the whole circle of arts and sciences. And he that hath so done, *illi des nominis hujus honorem*, let him pass for a perfect Divine, he only is adequate to so ample a title. But (God be thanked) this is only the heroic perfection, not the necessary qualification of a teacher. A man may very well content himself to sit in a much lower form, and yet sit safely; he may move in a far inferior orb, and yet give much light, and communicate a benign and useful influence to the Church of God. Let us view, therefore, the necessary parts of theology itself, wherein the teacher cannot be ignorant or uninstructed, but to the very great detriment of his disciples, and his own greater shame and hazard. How ample a field have we still before us! Here is theology positive, polemical, moral, casuistical, and all most necessary for the teacher.

As for positive divinity, or the knowledge of those necessary speculative truths that are revealed in Scripture, a man can no more be a divine that is unacquainted with this, than he can be a grammarian that understands not the very first elements of grammar. And yet of so abstruse, so sublime a nature, are even these truths, that for a man rightly to apprehend them, and clearly to explain them, especially to the capacity of his duller hearers, is no very easy matter.

Polemical or controversial divinity is *theologia armata*, or that part of divinity which instructs and furnisheth a man with necessary weapons to defend the truth against its enemies. Now the good shepherd's office is

not only to feed his sheep, but to secure them from the wolves, or else his care in feeding them serves only to make them the fatter and richer prey. And therefore St. Paul^a requires, that the teacher should be able, “both by sound doctrine to exhort his hearers^b, as also to convince” or refute “the gainsayers” or opposers.^c *Hæc non sunt τοῦ τυχόντος* (as Grotius well glosseth on the text), every man cannot do this, and yet every teacher must. The times wherein we live do much heighten the necessity of this study: for we may enforce this duty on all teachers, by the same melancholy argument that St. Paul doth in the fore-mentioned text. The teacher, saith he, must be able “to convince gainsayers:” why so? he gives the reason^d; “There are many unruly and vain teachers and deceivers, &c. whose mouths must be stopped, who subvert whole houses, teaching things which they ought not.” These unruly and vain teachers, these deceivers, were never certainly in a greater number than now they are. These men’s mouths must be stopped; there is a necessity for it: for otherwise they will subvert whole houses, yea, and pervert whole parishes. Not that we have any hopes in this age to stop the mouths of our opposers, so as to make them cease speaking, (for brawl they will to eternity: they are, as the Apostle somewhere speaks, “unreasonable men^e,” that understand not, admit not of any topics; no argumentation, though never so convincing, will make them give back;) but

^a Tit. i. 9.

^b Καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῇ ὑγιαίνουσῃ.

^c Καὶ τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας ἐλέγχειν.

^d Ver. 10, 11.

^e Ἄνθρωποι ἄποιοι.

so, at least, as that they shall be able to speak little to the purpose, so as to satisfy sober, humble, docible persons, who have not passionately espoused an error, or, to speak in the Apostle's phrase, "that are not given up to strong delusions, to believe lies, that they may be damned." In a word, our fate in these days is much like that of the rebuilders of Jerusalem after the captivity, that were necessitated "every one, with one of his hands to work in the building, with the other to hold a weapon."^a With one hand we must build up our people in the doctrine of piety, with the other we must resist heretical opposers, who otherwise will demolish as fast as we build.

And to quicken us to this part of our study, methinks no consideration can be more forcible than this; to observe, where ministers are defective therein, with what triumph and ostentation deceivers carry souls captive, to the disgrace, not only of the persons, but also of the function of the teachers, yea, and of truth itself, which is wounded thus through their sides, and bleeds through their weakness and folly.

But let us leave this thorny field of controversial, and step a little into the other more fruitful, of moral or practical divinity. Of this one speaks most truly: "The knowledge of controversies is made necessary by heretics, the study of piety by God himself."^b Theology is doubtless a practical science, nothing in it but what aims at this end. And therefore, he that neglects this practical part of it understands not the very design of

^a Nehem. iv. 17.

^b *Controversiarum scientiam necessariam fecerunt hæretici, studium pietatis Deus ipse mandavit.*

his own profession. Without this, a man deserves no more to be accounted a Divine, than he a physician that understands little or nothing of therapeutics. It is true, there are some (otherwise not unlearned men) that despise this part of theology, as a vulgar, trivial, easy, obvious thing. But sure they very much disparage their own judgment, who let the world understand that they are of this mind. And the event commonly shows how much they are mistaken. For bring these Doctors out of their academic cells, set them to preach in a country congregation, and they soon become the objects of laughter, or rather of pity, to the wiser. To observe how they greedily snatch at every occasion of engaging in a controversy, and that, perhaps, such a one as was never before heard of by their hearers, but a controversy they had read in some of their books, though long ago dead and buried, thus manfully encountering ghosts and shadows. How learnedly they will discuss the barren subtleties of Aquinas or Scotus, which the poor souls no more understand, than if they had read them a lecture out of Cornelius Agrippa's Occult Philosophy. How, when they come to practicals, they are *velut in alium mundum translati*, "as if they were entered into a new unknown world;" so frigid, barren, and lifeless are their discourses on those subjects. And may the same shame, or a serious repentance, attend all the contemners of this useful theology.

Lastly, There is casuistical divinity, which I distinguish from moral or practical, as a more noble species thereof, and which therefore deserves a distinct con-

sideration. For though all casuistical divinity be practical, yet all practical divinity is not casuistical; for the design of casuistical divinity is to resolve only the dubious and difficult cases that refer to practice. How difficult this study is, every man that is not a very stranger therein, will readily acknowledge. And the necessity thereof is evident; for what more necessary for a teacher, than to be able to resolve his people what their duty is in difficult cases? Teachers, no doubt, are purposely placed by God in the cross-ways, as Mercurial statues, not dead, but living speaking ones, directing the perplexed traveller towards the heavenly Jerusalem, and saying (as it is in the prophet), "This is the way, walk therein." And the Lord, by the prophet Malachi^a, tells us, that the Priest should be such a one, as that the "people may seek the law at his mouth:" the law, *i. e.* the sense of the law, or what that duty is, which the law obligeth them to in doubtful cases: a very oracle to be consulted by them on all occasions. It is true the greatest oracle may be sometimes silenced by a greater difficulty; but an oracle altogether dumb, is certainly a very lamentable contradiction.

I have all this while spoken nothing of the Holy Scriptures, that deep and unsearchable mine, from whence the Divine is to fetch all his treasure. From hence he is to borrow the principles of all theology, positive, polemical, moral, casuistical; and therefore it is evident, that unless he be well studied in these, he must needs be defective in all the rest. He must needs

^a Chap. ii. 7.

be a weak Divine that is not “mighty in the Scriptures^a,” as it is said of Apollos.^b And, Lord, how many things are necessary to give a man a right understanding of these sacred writings! I confess we are fallen into a very confident age, wherein to interpret Scripture is counted the most obvious and easy thing; and every mechanic, that scarce understands common sense, will venture on the expounding of these mysterious books. We have so childishly departed from the error of the Romish Church, in asserting an inexplicable obscurity of the Scriptures, even in things necessary, that, for fear of this Charybdis, we are swallowed up in as dangerous a Scylla, to make the Scriptures even despicable and contemptible. For, as Nazianzen truly saith^c, “that which is thus easily understood, is generally with as much ease slighted and contemned.” But we know who they are, “who run from one bad extreme into another.”^d For it is certain, that rightly to understand the Holy Scriptures, is a very difficult thing, especially for us who live at so great a distance from those times wherein they were written, and those persons and churches to whom they were directed. It is no slender measure of the knowledge of antiquity, history, philology, that is requisite to qualify a man for such an undertaking. They know nothing of the Holy Scriptures that know not this. And, therefore, those unlearned and ignorant men, that venture on the exposition of Scripture, being per-

^a Δυνατός ἐν γραφαῖς.^b Acts, xviii. 24.^c Τὸ ῥαδίως ληπτὸν ἅπαν εὐκαταφρόνητον.^d Dum vitant vitia in contraria currunt.

fect strangers to these parts of learning, must, of necessity, wrest them to their own and their hearers' destruction.

I cannot omit to take notice here of that common axiom, "A good textuary is a good Divine^a;" and to observe, that it is most true, if rightly understood: if by a textuary, we mean him who hath not only a concordance of Scriptures in his memory, but also a commentary on them in his understanding; who thinks it not enough to be ready in alleging the bare words of Scripture, with the mention of chapter and verse where it is written, unless he know the sense and meaning of what he recites. The former every illiterate sectary is able to do, who can quote Scriptures by dozens and scores, the tithe whereof he understands not, and are little to his purpose: the latter is the proper commendation of the Divine. Without this grain of salt, the aphorism but now mentioned most justly falls under the severe censure of our learned Prideaux: "A good textuary is a good divine, say many, who understand not, mind not, either the text, or divinity, or goodness."^b

We have seen the necessary parts of theology rudely delineated, and yet, even by this imperfect draught, we may take an estimate, how large that man's knowledge ought to be, that is obliged to understand all these things.

I confess that here, also, (and I have as much reason to rejoice in it as most of my brethren,) a latitude is to

^a Bonus textualis, bonus theologus.

^b Bonus textualis, bonus theologus, clamant quamplurimi, qui nec de textu, nec de theologia, nec de bonitate sunt solliciti.

be allowed; and it were a cruelty worse than that of Procrustes, to stretch all men to the same giant-like proportion of knowledge that some attain to. But yet, doubtless, it is a wise and prudent severity, as Nazianzen speaks^a, “to measure every teacher, and stretch him out to St. Paul’s rules and canons.” And they, as we have already heard, require that he should be διδακτικὸς, “apt, and fit to teach,” *i. e.* in some competent measure able to instruct his hearers in all these useful parts of theology.

2. I have discoursed so largely of the first requisite of the teacher’s office, that if I gave over here, I had said enough to convince any sober person of the difficulty thereof. But yet this is not all. A very great prudence also is required in the teacher, or else his knowledge will be useless and unserviceable. Wisdom is the soul that animates and enlivens knowledge; without which a large knowledge is but like a huge carcass, a lifeless inactive thing. And if any man thinks that science and prudence are things inseparable, sad experience refutes him. Every learned man is not a wise man; and there are some who have read very many books, but very few men; who have dwelt so much in their studies, that they understand little abroad in the world, no, not in their own little world, I mean their charges and parishes. There are some that have a large measure of the spirit of knowledge, but want the spirit of government, which yet is most necessary for him, who is to be a guide of souls. Every teacher is concerned to be wise, both for himself and those committed

^a Παρεκτείνειν τοῖς Παύλου κανόσι.

to his charge. For himself, to take heed of men, that he be neither betrayed by false brethren, nor become a prey to the malice of professed enemies; to decline both the envy and contempt of his neighbours, to keep himself within the bounds of his calling, “to mind his own business^a,” &c. To this kind of wisdom belongs the advice of our Saviour, when sending forth his Apostles, as innocent lambs amongst the wolves of that age. He cautions them to “be wise as serpents, and innocent as doves^b,” *i. e.* to use all honest and sinless arts to secure themselves. But this is not the prudence which I principally intend; for if a minister be defective in this, he is no man’s foe but his own; he hurts only himself, and that but in his temporal concerns.

I add, therefore, that he is to be wise for those committed to his charge, lest by any indiscretion of his, he obstructs that which ought to be his great design and business, the eternal salvation of their souls. And here how many things are there which a teacher is concerned to understand! He must be wise so to frame his discourses, especially in public, that he speak nothing that may either offend the weak, or give advantage to the malicious; that his sermons may not only be good in themselves, but adapted and fitted to the necessity of his hearers; that he make choice of the most suitable and powerful arguments to enforce on them those Christian duties whereto he exhorts them. He must be wise in the government of his carriage and actions, distinguishing especially between lawfulness and expediency, and shunning, not only that which is directly sinful, but whatsoever is scandalous and offensive. He

^a Τὰ ἴδια πράσσειν.

^b Matt. x. 16.

must be wise in his common converse with his people, that he be neither of too easy, or of too morose and difficult an access, but especially he is to be careful of this in his freer conversation ; that he indulge not himself any liberty more than ordinary among those who will make an ill use of that wherein there was no ill intended. He is to be wise in the choice of his friends ; not to inscribe any man into that catalogue, that may reflect any disparagement on his person or function. For, *qui non contemnitur a se, contemnitur a socio*. He must be wise, especially in the government of his own family : for, as the apostle excellently reasons, “ if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God ? ” ^a He must be wise to inquire into the state of his flock, and to discern their particular tempers and constitutions ; and even to search into their hearts and secret inclinations. He must be wise to administer private counsels and reproofs, duly observing the circumstances of time, of place, of person, of disposition. For, as the wisest of men tells us, “ a word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver. ” ^b These, and many other things, the teacher is deeply concerned to be well versed in : and what a task is this !

If it be objected, that prudence is a thing without our power, an arbitrary gift of God, which he bestows on whom he pleaseth, as he doth beauty, or wealth, or a good natural wit, and therefore cannot reasonably be imposed on a man as his duty : I answer, if this prudence were wholly out of our election, yet this certainly

^a 1 Tim. iii. 5.^b Prov. xxv. 11.

was left to our free choice, whether we would undertake that office whereto so great prudence is requisite. We have obliged ourselves to it, by engaging in that function that cannot be discharged without it. But, indeed, this excellent gift of God is in a great degree put within our power, in conjunction with the Divine assistance. We may and must endeavour for it, diligently study it, carefully observe things and persons, faithfully record experiments, consult wiser friends; but, above all things, we must take St. James's advice, "If any man want wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth liberally, and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him."^a Especially if he desire it constantly, earnestly, and above all things in the world; if, with Solomon, he despise greatness and wealth, and all other secular advantages; and, before them all, desire this one thing of God, "that he would give him wisdom and knowledge to go in and out before the people committed to his charge and guidance."^b

3. I come now to the last, though not the least, of those requisites, that are necessary to the office of a teacher, viz., an exemplary holiness. For of this I may say, as the Apostle doth, speaking of the three theological graces^c, "And now abideth faith, hope, and charity, these three: but the greatest of these is charity." So, here, there remaineth knowledge, prudence, holiness, all three necessary requisites to make up a complete teacher, but the greatest of these is holiness. And what he farther says of the same grace of charity, in the beginning of the same chapter, may with a little change be applied also to our present purpose.

^a James, i. 5.

^b 2 Chron. i. 10.

^c 1 Cor. xiii. 13.

If a man had *πᾶσαν γνώσιν*, “all sorts of knowledge,” so as to be able to “understand all mysteries;” if he were prudent, beyond the prodigious measure of Solomon’s wisdom; if those endowments were crowned in him, with an eloquence more than human, so that he were able to discourse like an angel; yet without this holiness he were as nothing, or at best but as “the sounding brass,” or “tinkling cymbal.” The priest that is not “clothed with righteousness,” though otherwise richly adorned with all the ornaments of human and divine literature, and those gilded over with the rays of a seraphic prudence and sagacity, is yet but a naked, beggarly, despicable creature, of no authority, no interest, no use or service, in the church of God. The unholy teacher, let him preach never so well, discourseth to little purpose; there will be no life in his doctrine, because his life is so destitute of the spirit of holiness; he will sooner damn his own soul, than save any man’s else. His discourses, though armed with the most powerful oratory, will serve to move no other affection in his hearers than that of indignation against his hypocrisy and impudence, to hear him excellently declaim against a vice, of which himself is notoriously guilty; and they will say,

Loripedem rectus derideat, Æthiopem albus.

In a word, as a wise man well observes, “every notorious vice is infinitely against the spirit of government, and depresses a man to an evenness with common persons.”

— *Facinus quos inquinat æquat.*

And when a man’s authority is thus lost, he becomes

a thing wholly useless in the Church of God. Useless, did I say? it were well if that were all: he is the most pernicious creature that moves on God's earth: he serves to the worst purposes — to make men atheists, infidels, or heretics. Learned and knowing men, of ill lives, have been always the greatest stumbling-block in the Church of God; their fall is not single, but attended with the ruin of many others; who, imitating the barbarous civility of those nations that use to solemnize the funerals of their great men by sacrificing a great part of their families, when their teachers damn themselves, are ready to die and perish with them for company. And the fallacy that ruins them is this, because some wise men live wickedly, they presently conclude, that wickedness is the greatest wisdom: as if it were impossible for the will to choose contrary to the dictates of the understanding, or for a man that knows his duty not to do it. We, of this age, have reason to take special notice of this. For as Cicero, inquiring into the causes of those bold and unheard-of attempts that Catiline and his confederates made upon the commonwealth of Rome, presently gives this account: *Nos (dico aperte) nos consules desumus*: so, when we are astonished at the prodigious blasphemies, heresies, and schisms of our times, and wonder at the cause of them, we may quickly resolve ourselves after the same manner: *Nos (dico aperte) nos pastores desumus*. For certainly all the arguments that heretics and sectaries have made use of, to seduce our people from obedience unto the most excellent doctrine, liturgy, and discipline of our Church, would have been accounted ridiculous sophisms, and no way served their wicked

purposes, if they had not been furnished with a more powerful topic *ab exemplo* from the vicious lives of some clergymen. And as to this,

Pudet hæc opprobria nobis

Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli.

I might here be very large in representing the necessity of holiness in a minister; but I shall only observe that the wicked teacher sins with the highest aggravation of his guilt, and the least hope of his repentance; he is the greatest and most desperate sinner.

The greatest sinner; for either he is a person of more than ordinary knowledge, or he is not: if not, he sinned greatly in undertaking that office, to which so great a knowledge is requisite: if he be, his knowledge doubtless increaseth his guilt; for “he that knows his Master’s will, and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes.”^a Besides, he must need sin with a very strange assurance, by living in that wickedness which he daily reproves and preaches against, and so becoming *αὐτοκατάκριτος*, “a condemned man,” from his own mouth. But that which I chiefly urge is this: the wicked teacher is, of all men living, in the most hopeless and desperate condition. It is usually observed of seamen, that dwell in the great deep, that if they are not very pious, for the most part they are desperately wicked; because they daily behold the wonders of the Lord, and besides live in a continual and very near danger, bordering upon the very confines of death, and being

Quatuor aut septem digitis a morte remoti;

“but a few fingers’ breadth divided from their fluid

^a Luke, xii. 47.

graves." And if these considerations do not persuade them to "fear the Lord exceedingly," as it is said of the mariners in Jonah i. 16., it argues that they are exceedingly hardened. The observation is truer of the minister; if he be not a good man, he must needs be extremely bad, for he daily converseth in the great deep of the Holy Scriptures, and there sees and reads such things, that if they do not effectually persuade him to piety, it is certain he is a man of an obdurate heart.

What remedy is likely to work this man's cure and repentance? Will the dreadful menaces and threats of God's word affright him? No; these are daily thundered out of his own mouth, and yet to him they are but *bruta fulmina*. Will the gracious promises of God allure him? No; he daily charms his hearers with these, but remains himself as the deaf adder. Will those excellent books of learned and pious men that he reads in his study work any good on him? No; he that slights God's word will little regard the words of men. Will the public prayers make him serious? No; he daily reads them, and his daily practice is contrary to his daily prayers. Will a medicine compounded of the flesh and blood of the Son of God (I mean the Holy Eucharist) do the miserable man any good? No; he hath frequently received those dear pledges of his Saviour's love, and yet is still as bad as ever, and so hath "trodden under foot the blood of the everlasting covenant," wherewith he should have been sanctified. The Lord look upon this man, for there is no hope of him without a miracle of Divine mercy: nay, indeed, all

these excellent means, by being made familiar to him, have lost their efficacy upon him. Our Saviour, methinks, doth excellently represent the hopeless condition of a vicious minister, by a parable^a, where, speaking to the Apostles (considered, I suppose, as ministers of the word), he tells them, “Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewithal shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing but to be cast out, and trodden under foot of men.” Salt, if it be good, is of excellent use to season many things; but if it become itself unsavoury, it is not only the most useless thing, “good for nothing but to be cast out,” &c., but irrecoverably lost; there is nothing will fetch putrid salt again: “for if the salt hath lost its savour, wherewithal shall it be salted?” Thus necessary is holiness in a minister, both for himself and others.

I have now done with the difficulty, and consequently with the danger, of the pastoral office, represented from the three grand requisites thereunto; a very large knowledge, a great prudence, an exemplary holiness. I shall add but one consideration more, of itself abundantly sufficient to evince the whole; viz. that every teacher is accountable for the souls committed to his charge. This is the plain doctrine of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews^a: “Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves; for they watch for your souls as they that must give account,” &c. A dreadful consideration this! And St. Chrysostom tells us, that when he read that text, “it did κατασεῖν τὴν

^a Matt. v. 13.^b Chap. xiii. 17.

ψυχὴν, cause a kind of earthquake within him, and produce a holy fear and trembling in his soul." And in his commentary on the text, he thus exclaims, "Lord, how, how difficult, how hazardous an undertaking is this! What shall a man say to those wretched men that rashly thrust themselves into such an abyss of judgments? All the souls that are committed to thy conduct, men, women, and children, thou art to give an account of."^a He presently subjoins, "It is a wonder if any ruler in the Church be saved^b:" a passionate hyperbole, expressing his deep sense of the extreme danger of the pastoral office.

It is true, indeed, the excellent bishop speaks there of those of his own most sacred order, whose place and dignity in the Church of God, as it is eminently higher, their charge greater, their inspection more extensive, so will their account be accordingly. But yet the same is true in its proportion of every clergyman, of what order soever he be. So St. Austin expressly: "If you mark it (most dear brethren), you shall find that all the Lord's priests, not only bishops, but also presbyters and ministers of churches, stand in a very hazardous condition."^c And he gives a shrewd reason for what he says a little after: "If at the day of judgment it will be a hard task for every man to give an account of his own soul, what will become of priests, of whom God

^a Βαβαὶ πόσος ὁ κίνδυνος! τί ἔν τις εἴποι πρὸς τοὺς ἀθλίους τοὺς ἐπιβρί-
τοντας ἑαυτοὺς τοσαύτῃ τιμωριῶν ἀβύσσῳ; πάντων ὧν ἄρχεις γυναικῶν, καὶ
ἀνδρῶν καὶ παίδων σὺ λόγον δίδως.

^b Θαυμάζω εἰ τινὰ ἐστὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων σωθῆναι.

^c Si diligenter attenditis (fratres charissimi) omnes Sacerdotes Domini,
non solum Episcopus, sed etiam Presbyteros et Ministros Ecclesiarum,
in grandi periculo esse cognoscitis.

will require an account of the souls of so many others committed to their charge?"^a He concludes, *Magnum opus, sed gravis sarcina*: "The care of souls is indeed a great work, a noble undertaking, but yet a very grievous burden." He must be a man of very firm shoulders that is not crushed under it.

I have oftentimes, not without wonder and indignation, observed the strange confidence of empirics in physic, that dare venture on the practice of that noble art, which they do not at all understand; considering how, for a little paltry gain, they shrewdly hazard, or, rather, certainly destroy, the health and lives of men; and have judged them worthy of as capital and ignominious a punishment as those that kill men on the highways. But I have soon exchanged this meditation into another of more concernment to myself; and my indignation hath quickly returned into my own bosom when I consider how much bolder and more hazardous an attempt it is for a man to venture on the Priestly office, to minister to the eternal health and salvation of souls. How much skill is requisite to qualify a man for such an undertaking! how great care in the discharge of it! What a sad thing it would be if, through my unskilfulness or negligence, any one soul should miscarry under my hands, or die and perish eternally!

We minister to souls. Souls! methinks in that one word there is a sermon. Immortal souls! precious souls! one whereof is more worth than all the world

^a Si enim pro se unusquisque vix poterit in die judicii rationem reddere, quid de Sacerdotibus futurum est, a quibus sunt omnium animæ requirendæ?

besides, the price of the blood of the Son of God. I close up this with the excellent words appointed by the Church to be read at the ordination of every Priest: "Have always therefore in your remembrance how great a treasure is committed to your charge; for they are the sheep of Christ, which he bought with his death, and for whom he shed his blood. The Church and congregation whom ye serve is his spouse and body. And if it shall happen the same Church, or any member thereof, to take any hurt or hinderance by reason of your negligence, you know the greatness of the fault, and also the horrible punishment that will ensue."

And now, methinks, I may use the Apostle's words in another case.^a "Ye see your calling, brethren^b;" you see how extremely difficult and hazardous an office it is we have undertaken: "Who is sufficient for these things?"^c Whose loins do not tremble at this fearful burden on his shoulders? Who would not be almost tempted to repent himself of his undertaking, and to wish himself any the meanest mechanic rather than a minister? But, alas! this were vain, yea, sinful. We are engaged in this sacred office, and there is no retreating; we must now run the hazard, how great soever it be: in we are, and on we must. What shall we then say? what shall we do? Surely this is our best, yea, our only course. Let us first prostrate ourselves at the feet of the Almighty God, humbly confessing and heartily bewailing our great and manifold miscarriages in this weighty undertaking; let us weep tears of blood (if it

^a 1 Cor. i. 26.

Βλέπετε τὴν κλήσιν ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί.

^c Καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα τίς ἱκανός. 2 or. ii. 16.

were possible) for the blood of souls, which we have reason to fear may stick upon our garments. The blood of souls, I say: for when I consider how many less discerned ways there be, whereby a man may involve himself in that guilt, as not only by an openly vicious example, but even by a less severe, prudent, and wary conversation; not only by actions directly criminal, but by lawful actions, when offensive, (for by these, the Apostle assures us, “a man may destroy the soul of his weak brother, for whom Christ died^a,”) not only by a gross negligence and supine carelessness, but by every lesser remission of those degrees of zeal and diligence, which are requisite in so important an affair: in a word, by not doing all that a man can, and lies within his power, to save the souls committed to his charge: I say, when I consider this, for mine own part I cannot, I dare not justify myself, or plead Not guilty, before the great Judge of heaven and earth; but do upon the bended knees of my soul, bewail my sin, and implore his pardoning grace and mercy; crying mightily unto him; “Deliver me from this blood-guiltiness, O my God, thou God of my salvation: and my tongue shall sing aloud of thy righteousness.”^b

Having laid ourselves at God’s feet, let us not lie idly there, but arise, and for the future do the work of God with all faithfulness and industry; yea, let us make amends for our past negligence, by doubling our future diligence. And for our encouragement here, let us remember, that though many things are required of a minister, yet the chief and most indispensable requisites

^a Rom. xiv. 15.^b Psalm li. 14.

are these two: a passionate desire to save souls, and an unwearied diligence in the pursuit of that noble design. The minister that wants these two qualifications will hardly pass the test or gain the approbation of God, the great Judge and Trier; but where these are found, they will cover a multitude of other failings and defects. Let us, therefore, reverend brethren, (and may I here conjure both you and myself, by the endeared love we bear to our own souls, and the precious souls committed to our charge, yea, by the blood of the Son of God, the price of both,) let us, I beseech you, from henceforth return to our several charges, zealously and industriously plying the great work and business that is before us. Let us think no pains too great to escape that *μείζον κρίμα*, that "greater judgment," that otherwise attends us. Let us study hard, and read much, and pray often, and preach "in season and out of season," and catechise the youth, and take wise opportunities of instructing those, who being of riper years, may yet be as unripe in knowledge; and visit the sick, and according to our abilities relieve the poor; showing to all our flock the example of a watchful, holy, humble conversation. And may a great blessing of God crown our labours! Let us go on, and the Lord prosper us!

I have done *ad clerum*, and have but a word more *ad populum*, "to the people."

My brethren, you may possibly think yourselves altogether unconcerned in this whole discourse. But if you do, you are mistaken; all this nearly concerns even you. I shall only point to you wherein.

1. If the pastoral office be so tremendous an under-

taking, judge then, I pray you, of the sacrilegious boldness and impiety of those Uzzahs among the laity, that dare touch this ark, the Priest's charge and care. If we, my brethren, that have been trained up in the schools of the prophets, that have been educated with no small care and cost to this employment, that have spent a double apprenticeship of years in our studies, and most of us a great deal more: if we, I say, after all this, find reason to tremble at our insufficiency for such an undertaking, how horrible is the confidence, or rather impudence, of those mechanics, that have leaped from the shopboard or plough into the pulpit, and thus *per saltum*, by a prodigious leap, commenced teachers! What shall we say to these mountebanks in the church, these empirics in theology? I only say this: I can never sufficiently admire either their boldness in venturing to be teachers, or the childish folly and simplicity of those that give themselves up to be their disciples. It is a miracle that any such person should dare to preach; or if he do, that any man in his right wits should vouchsafe to hear him.

2. This discourse concerning the difficulty and hazard of the Priestly office, shows sufficiently all the people's danger. It is the danger your own souls are in, my brethren, if not carefully looked to, that is the great hazard of our office. Oh, therefore, if you do consider it, what need have you to look to yourselves!

3. Lastly, if our work and office be attended with this difficulty, sure it is your duty to pity us, to pray for us, to encourage us by all possible ways and means to the vigorous performance of it; at least not to add

to our load, or discourage us, either by your wayward factiousness, or stubborn profaneness, or sacrilegious injustice: if you do, sad will be your account.

Remember, therefore, the advice of the Apostle^a, “Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves: for they watch for your souls, as they that must give an account, that they may do this” (*i. e.* attend on this work of watching over your souls) “with joy, and not with grief.”^b Grotius’s paraphrase is here most genuine: “Sweeten and allay the irksome labour of your teachers, by performing to them all offices of respect and love, that they may with alacrity, and not with grief, discharge that function, which is of itself a sufficient burden, without any addition of sorrow from you.”^c

Now to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be ascribed all honour and glory, adoration and worship, both now and for ever. Amen.

^a Heb. xiii. 17.

^b “Ἦνα μετὰ χαρᾶς τοῦτο ποιῶσι, καὶ μὴ στενάζοντες.

^c Mulcete cum laborem omnibus obsequiis et officiis, ut cum alacritate potius quam dolore fungantur munere satis gravi, etiamsi a vobis nihil triste accedat.

THE SACERDOTAL BENEDICTION IN THE NAME OF THE TRINITY.

[BISHOP BEVERIDGE.]

2 COR. xiii. 14.

The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all.

IT would be great rashness in us, who know so little of our own, to inquire into the nature of Him that made us, any further than he himself hath been pleased to make it known unto us in his holy word. But it would be the height of impudence and presumption to offer at explaining the incomprehensible mystery of the most glorious Trinity; how three distinct persons subsist in the same individual nature, so as to be all one and the same God. It is sufficient for us to believe what is written, that there is but one living and true God; that "the Lord our God is one Jehovah," one being, the Lord, Deut. vi. 4. That the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, these three are one Being, one Jehovah, one God: that the Father is of himself, the Son of the Father, the Holy Ghost of the Father and the Son, and yet none before or after other: none greater or less

than another; but the whole three persons co-eternal together and co-equal. This we are bound to believe, because it is revealed by God himself, and therefore revealed by him, that we may believe it upon his word, although it be above the reach of our finite understandings, as he himself knows it is: and therefore doth not require us to understand, but to believe it; and hath made known as much of it as he thought good, for that purpose only, that we might know what he would have us to believe concerning it. Now, one very remarkable thing revealed in the Holy Scriptures concerning the most glorious Trinity, is this, that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, although they be all one and the same God, yet they often exert and manifest themselves and their divine perfections severally as well as jointly, and so have their several ways of working in the world: as appears from many places, and particularly from the words I have now read: "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all." For here we have three divine persons distinctly named; the Son, called the Lord Jesus Christ; the Father, here called in an especial manner God, as being the root and fountain of the Deity, as the primitive writers style him; and then here is the third person, expressly called the Holy Ghost. And to each of these persons, here is a several property or perfection attributed, the apostle wishing to the Corinthians the grace of one, the love of another, and the communion of the third; which does not only show that they are three distinct persons or subsistences, but also that they have distinct operations, or their

several ways of working, and manifesting themselves in the world: which, if rightly understood, would give us great light into what we ought to believe concerning each person; and how we ought to exercise our faith upon all and every one of them, according to the discoveries which they are pleased to make of themselves, with respect to us. And therefore I shall endeavour to explain it as clearly as I can, being a matter of so high a nature: humbly beseeching Him, of whom I speak, so to assist and direct me, that I may say nothing but what is agreeable to his holy word, and becoming his divine majesty.

For this purpose, therefore, we must, first, consider in general, that this Almighty, most glorious and eternal Being, which we call God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, hath been graciously pleased to show forth and manifest himself and his divine perfections many wonderful ways, particularly in the creation and redemption of the world. In the first, he manifested his infinite wisdom, power, and goodness; in the other, his infinite love, and justice, and mercy, and truth to mankind: in both, the infinite glory of his eternal Godhead. And it is much to be observed, that in both these great works that he hath done, whereby to set forth his glory, we find three distinct persons specified, or particularly named by himself, as concurring in the doing of them, and each in a way peculiar to himself. The account that he himself hath given us of his creation, or production of all things out of nothing, begins thus: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." Where the word

in the original אֱלֹהִים, which we translate God, is of the plural number; but it is joined with a verb of the singular, as it is almost everywhere in the Old Testament. Now, although I will not say, that an argument can be drawn from hence to convince a gainsayer, that there are just three persons in the Godhead, because a word of the plural number may possibly signify more: yet, seeing that in Hebrew, where there is likewise a dual, three is the first plural number; and seeing the first must in reason be preferred before all other, and seeing God himself hath in many places of his word acquainted us that there are three persons, and no more, in his Godhead: we may reasonably, from hence, infer that God calleth himself by this name of the plural, and joins it with verbs and adjectives of the singular number, on purpose to put us in mind of the Trinity in unity, that he is three in one, and that every one of these divine persons is to be adored, and worshipped alike; that being, as I take it, the true notion of the word. For though the root from whence אֱלֹהִים *Eloah* comes be not preserved in the Hebrew tongue, it is in the Arabic dialect; where اَللّٰه, *Alaha*, signifies to worship or adore: and accordingly, אֱלֹהִים, *Eloah* signifies one that is to be worshipped. And in the plural number אֱלֹהִים, *Elohim*, persons adorable; such as are and ought to be worshipped by all things that are, as He, to be sure, ought to be, by whom all things were made, and were made by him for that end, that he might be worshipped by them. And it is very observable that, in the next chapter, when the creation was finished, he is called by two names, יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים, the

one of the singular number, the other of the plural; the one signifying his essence, the other the persons subsisting in it. But in all the first chapter of Genesis, while he was doing this great work, he is not so much as once called by any other name than אֱלֹהִים, *Adorandi*, or *Adorabiles*, persons to be adored; but by that he is called above thirty times in that one chapter: whereby I humbly conceive he hath signified his pleasure to us, that when we consider his creation of the world, we should ascribe it to all the three persons, and adore them for it. And, indeed, that they were all concerned in it appears from the history of the creation itself: wherein, although the Creator, as I have shown, be all along called אֱלֹהִים, *Elohim*, divine persons, in the plural number, yet that name being as constantly there joined with a verb of the singular number, the unity of the Divine Nature or Godhead is likewise signified by it. In which sense it is said in the second verse, “And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters;” that is, the Spirit of that one God who is *Elohim*, divine persons; of which the Spirit here spoken of must needs be one, forasmuch as he operates in the creation, which none but God the Creator could do. So that we have here two distinct persons, the Spirit of God, and God himself, whose Spirit he is, even the Father, who, as I observed before, is in an especial manner often called God.

After this we read that God made all things by his Word. He said, “Let there be light, and there was light,” ver. 3.; and so he made his works all the six days, until he came to make man. He made them all by his

Word : not by any outward word spoken, but by speaking in himself, by willing them to be, and so by his inward, his essential Word ; that is, by his eternal and only-begotten Son, as we are fully assured by his evangelist St. John, who, by his direction, begins the Gospel of his Son Jesus Christ with this character of him : “ In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that was made,” John i. 1, 2, 3. And to the same purpose St. Paul, speaking of the Son of God, saith, “ By him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in the earth, visible or invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions, or principalities, or powers : all things were created by him, and for him,” Col. i. 16. ; Eph. iii. 9. And elsewhere, “ By whom he made the worlds,” Heb. i. 2. From all which it appears, that the Word by which God made the world was his only Son, then with him. If his Son, then a person, and if with him, then a distinct person from him. So that now we plainly see three distinct persons manifesting themselves in the creation of the world—God the Father, his Son, and his Spirit. As the royal Prophet also long ago observed, saying, “ By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath (or spirit) of his mouth,” Psalm xxxiii. 6.

To this we may add that remarkable passage which occurs in the formation of man, as both explaining and confirming all that hath been hitherto said. For upon the sixth or last day of the creation, when God was

pleased to make man, it is written, "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness," Gen. i. 26. In the original, it is וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים, And God, in the plural number, said, in the singular, he said, Let us make man, and let us make him in our image, after our likeness — still in the plural number; which shows us plainly as words can do it, that several persons concurred in this great work; and that they had all one and the same image and likeness, and therefore were of one and the same nature or essence. Neither can the words possibly bear any other sense. All that the Jews and Socinians have said upon them, according to their blasphemous doctrine, makes them downright nonsense; whereas, according to our Christian doctrine, nothing is more plain and easy. For when the most blessed Trinity was pleased to make man, the chief and lord of all earthly creatures, he did not say, as in the making of other creatures, let there be a man, but let us, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, make man; and let us make him as like unto ourselves, who are all of the same likeness, as a creature can be made: all which might be, as in effect it was, most truly and properly said, according to our common way of speaking. Whereas, if there were not several divine persons then in being, or but only one, to whom could God say, let us make man? who but a divine person could do such a work? Or how could he say, let us make him in our image, after our likeness, if there was only one person in the world, in whose image and likeness he could be made? No; all the wit of man, and of the devil himself, can never invalidate the invincible force of this

place, to prove that there were several divine persons of the same divine essence, that severally exerted and discovered themselves in the creation of the world in general, and particularly in the making of mankind.

And as it was in the creation, so it was likewise in the redemption of mankind. The world was made by the Word of God; and it was redeemed by the same Word, the Son of God, the second of the divine persons, which St. John calls, "the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost," 1 John, v. 7.; all which, as I have shown, co-operated in the making of man at first; and so they did, too, in the saving and redeeming him, when he was fallen from the state in which he was at first made. For whereas there were two most critical times appointed for the effecting our redemption—one for the incarnation of our Redeemer, when the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, in order to it; and the other for his baptism, when he was initiated as it were into it, and actually took this great work upon him; at both these times we find all the persons of the most glorious Trinity particularly mentioned as concerned in it.

As for the first, when the fulness of time was come, that the Son of God should be incarnate, God sent the angel Gabriel to acquaint the blessed Virgin, that he should be conceived and born of her; and among other things saith unto her, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee, therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God," Luke i. 35. Upon the saying of which words, and the blessed

Virgin's expressing her consent by saying, "Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy word," this great work was done, the Son of God was conceived in her, the Word was made flesh. Now here we see three divine persons concurring in this wonderful work — the Son of God, the Holy Ghost or Spirit of God, and the highest or the Father, whose Son the one, and whose Spirit or power the other is. One was conceived: he was conceived by another, and that other was the power of a third person; so that in this, the first thing that was actually done in order to our redemption, and upon which the whole work depended, the whole three persons in the most blessed Trinity were most graciously pleased to show themselves — the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, one God, blessed for ever.

And so they did likewise most wonderfully at the baptism of our Redeemer, when he was solemnly inaugurated into the office he had undertaken for us, and accordingly began to set about it; for it is written, "And Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water, and lo! the heavens were opened unto him; and he saw the Spirit of God, descending like a dove, and lighting upon him; and lo! a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased," Matt. iii. 16, 17. Here all the three persons of the most holy Trinity did evidently appear together; for here was a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved Son, which could be no other but the voice of the Father, who also declared

himself to be so, by calling the other his Son; and then here was the Son of this Father, declared to be so by the Father himself; and here was also the Spirit of God, descending like a dove, and lighting upon the Son, and so anointing him to be both a priest, a prophet, and a king, who is therefore most properly called the Messiah, or Christ, the Anointed of God, and every way qualified to be our Mediator and Redeemer. Yea, it is wonderful to observe, the three infinitely glorious incomprehensible persons were pleased, upon this extraordinary occasion, to manifest themselves severally to the very senses of men, to their eyes and ears: for the Father was heard speaking, the Son was seen in the nature of man coming out of the water, and the Holy Ghost was seen in the shape of a dove descending and lighting upon him; and therefore we may truly say with St. Augustine, that at this time *Apparuit manifestissima Trinitas, Pater in voce, Filius in homine, Spiritus Sanctus in columbâ*: “the Trinity appeared most manifestly — the Father in a voice, the Son in a man, the Holy Ghost in a dove,” Aug. in Evang. Joh. tract. 6. And when St. Hierome, *Mysterium Trinitatis in baptismo demonstratur: Dominus baptizatur; Spiritus descendit in specie columbæ; Patris vox testimonium filio perhibentis, auditur*: “The mystery of the Trinity is demonstrated in the baptism of Christ: the Lord is baptized; the Spirit descendeth in the likeness of a dove; the voice of the Father giving testimony to the Son is heard,” Hieron. in Matt. iii. And hence it is that this chapter is appointed as a proper lesson at morning upon Trinity Sunday, because the great mystery which

we this day celebrate is so plainly and fully revealed in it.

And it is much to be observed, that as all the three divine persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, thus manifested themselves at the baptism of our Saviour, so he himself requires that all who would be his disciples should be made so by being baptized in the name of all the same persons, saying to his Apostles, "Go ye therefore and teach" or make "all nations" my disciples, "baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," Matt. xxviii. 19. So that the same divine persons which so manifestly appeared at the baptism of Christ are all to be particularly named at the baptism of every Christian, by Christ's own institution. And no man can be initiated into the Church of Christ, and so made a Christian, any other way but by being so baptized; this being the only way appointed by Christ himself for that purpose, who thereby hath sufficiently declared, that he will own none for his disciples but such as are baptized in the name of all the same persons which appeared in so miraculous a manner when he himself was baptized: and also that our salvation depends upon and must be attributed unto all of them. For seeing he himself hath so ordered it that none can be brought into a state of salvation but by being first baptized in the name of all three, all three must needs be acknowledged to concur in the effecting of it.

And verily that they do so, appears most evidently also from the words of my text. For as all these divine persons manifested themselves in the creation of the

world in general, and at the making of man in particular ; as they appeared at the incarnation and baptism of our Redeemer ; and as our Redeemer himself requires that all who would partake of that redemption which he hath purchased should be baptized in the name of all three ; so the Apostle here, by his direction, writing to such as were so baptized at Corinth, and concluding his epistle to them with an hearty prayer that they might have all things necessary to their salvation, he refers all such things to three heads, and attributes them severally to the three persons in the most holy Trinity, and accordingly prays to each of them, saying, “ The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all.” So that, did we but understand these words aright, we should thereby know how to exercise our faith in all and each of these divine persons, for what is necessary to our obtaining eternal salvation, according to their several ways of concurring to it.

But for that purpose, before we enter upon the explication of the several parts of the text, it will be necessary to observe some things in general about it. As first, although here be three several persons named, and several properties are severally attributed to them, yet they are not several, but all one and the same individual God. This we are fully assured of by all those reasons, and by all such places of the Holy Scriptures, which demonstrate the unity of the Godhead ; as where it is said, “ Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God” (our *Elohim* in the plural number) “ is one Lord, one Jehovah,” Deut. vi. 4. This the Son asserts of the

Father and himself, "I and the Father are one," John, x. 30. Not *εἷς* but *ἐν ἑσμέν*, one Jehovah, one Being. And St. John of all three, "There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one," 1 John, v. 7. Where the same word is used again, *ἐν εἰσι*, *unum sunt*, "they are," in the plural number; but they "are one," in the singular—one Being, *יהוה אחד*, one Jehovah, one God.

Hence, in the next place, whatsoever perfections or properties (except such as are purely personal) are attributed to any of these divine persons, are the same in all, and may equally be attributed to every one, they being all and every one the same God, in whom all perfections centre, or, rather, who is all perfection itself. And therefore, when we read of the grace of one, the love of another, and the fellowship of the third divine person, it is not to be so understood as if these properties were so peculiar to those persons to which they are here attributed, that they do not belong also to the other; for they are the same in all, and may be equally attributed to one as well as another. And so they are in the Holy Scriptures. Here grace is ascribed to the Son, and love unto the Father; in other places, love is ascribed to the Son, and grace unto the Father. As where St. Paul saith, "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?" Rom. viii. 35. "And to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge," Ephes. iii. 19. And St. John, "Hereby perceive we the love of God" (the Son), "because he laid down his life for us," 1 John, iii. 16. Here love is plainly attributed to the Son; and so is grace to the Father, where St. Paul saith,

“By the grace of God I am what I am,” 1 Cor. xv. 10. And “not by fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world,” 2 Cor. i. 12. And as we here read of the communion or fellowship of the Holy Ghost, we elsewhere read of the fellowship of the Son. “God is faithful,” saith the Apostle, “by whom ye were called unto the fellowship of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord,” 1 Cor. i. 9. And St. John saith, “Truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ,” 1 John, i. 3. Which I therefore observe, lest any should think that we detract any thing from one person by attributing it to another. For whatsoever divine properties are attributed to any one are thereby attributed unto all; they being all one and the same God, in whom all properties also are one and the same property, and therefore cannot be divided, nor belong to one more than to another, as they are in him.

But then we must observe withal, that, notwithstanding this, when the Almighty Being, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is pleased to operate upon things without him, and so to exert and manifest himself to us, there is something particular attributed to one of these divine persons more than to another. As it is plain that it was not the Father, nor the Holy Ghost, but the Son, which took the nature of man upon him. It was not the Father, nor the Son, but the Holy Ghost, which at the creation of the world “moved upon the face of the waters,” which at the incarnation of Christ, “overshadowed the blessed Virgin,” and which upon the day of Pentecost “came down upon the

Apostles." Thus all along in the Holy Scriptures, the Father is said in a peculiar manner to be our Maker, the Son our Saviour, and the Holy Ghost our Sanctifier. And accordingly, in my text, where the three persons are all mentioned together with respect to us, the Apostle prays for something particular from each of them; for the love of the Father, as he is Maker and Governor of the world; for the grace of the Son, as he is the Saviour and Redeemer of mankind; and for the communion of the Holy Ghost, as he is the Sanctifier and Comforter of all the elect people of God: which will serve us as a key to open the whole mystery contained in these words, as we shall see more presently.

But here is still another thing to be observed in general; which is, that the Son is here placed before the Father, whereas reason may seem to require that the Father should be placed first; as he is by the Son himself, commanding baptism to be administered in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and by his beloved disciple, saying, "There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost," Matt. xxviii. 19.; 1 John v. 7. According to which order, the Apostle should have said, "The love of God the Father, and the grace of Jesus Christ;" whereas, he contrariwise puts the Son first, saying, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God:" which being done by the special direction of the Holy Ghost, there was certainly great reason for it; which, that we may rightly understand, we must take notice, that in the places before quoted the divine persons are named in their essential order, that which they

have in and among themselves, or with respect to one another; according to which, the Father is placed first, because he begot the Son; the Son is placed second, because he was begotten of the Father; and the Holy Ghost last, because he proceeds from both. But the Apostle, in my text, speaks not of the order of the divine persons among themselves, but of that which they observe with respect to us and our salvation. He here wisheth to the Corinthians all things necessary to their salvation by Christ; and therefore it was necessary that he should begin first with Christ their Saviour, without whom they could never have had either the love of God or the communion of the Holy Ghost. It is true, the love of God the Father was the first cause or motive of our salvation, as our Saviour himself hath taught us, saying, that "God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him might not perish, but have everlasting life," John, iii. 16. But then we must observe, that our Saviour speaks here of God's love to mankind in general, saying, "God so loved the world;" he doth not speak of his love to particular men. It was out of his infinite love to fallen man in general, that he sent his Son into the world; but his love to any particular man is only in and for the sake of his said Son, and no otherwise. For by nature, we are all enemies to God, and therefore he is so to us; and there is no way for us to be reconciled to him, or to have him reconciled to us, but by his Son. For, as the Apostle saith, "When we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son," Rom. v. 10. And if it be by his Son only

that we are reconciled to God, it must needs be only by his Son that we can have his love and favour, which he therefore never shows to any man, but only upon the account of "him in whom he is well pleased." But as the Apostle saith, "Nothing can separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord," Rom. viii. 39.; whereby we are given to understand that the love which God the Father hath for any of us is only in his Son, and for his sake, without whom we could expect nothing but wrath and vengeance from him; and by consequence, that the grace of Christ is most properly here placed before the love of God, seeing we cannot have this, unless we have that first. The same may be said also of the communion of the Holy Ghost; for that likewise is "shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Lord," as the same Apostle teacheth us, Tit. iii. 5. Wherefore, seeing that we can never have either the love of God the Father, or the communion of God the Holy Ghost, but only by the grace of God the Son, there was all the reason in the world that the Apostle should pray for this first, and say first, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ," then "the love of God," and, lastly, "the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all."

These things being thus premised in general, we shall easily discover the meaning of the several parts of the text. The first thing which the Apostle here wisheth to the Corinthians is, "the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ," which is a phrase he delights in very much. The common salutation that he useth at the beginning of every one of his thirteen epistles, to those he wrote

to, runs thus, "Grace be to you, and peace from God the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ." And at the end of his epistles, he sometimes saith in short, "Grace be with you," Col. iv. 18., Tit. iii. 15., 1 Tim. vi. 21., and 2 Tim. iv. 22.; but most usually he concludes with, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you," Rom. xvi. 24., 1 Cor. xvi. 23., Gal. vi. 18., Phil. iv. 23., 1 Thess. v. 28., 2 Thess. iii. 18., Philem. 25.; and so St. John concludes the book of Revelations, and the whole New Testament, Apoc. xxii. 21. From whence we may infer that grace is to be had only by Christ; that his grace is the greatest blessing that can be desired, and that where the grace of Christ is, there is also the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, which are therefore particularly mentioned in my text, that we may know from whence they come, and that they are to be understood wheresoever the grace of Christ is mentioned.

But, then, the question is, What is meant by the grace of the "Lord Jesus Christ?" And how it comes to be so often appropriated unto him? For which it will be necessary to consider that remarkable passage in the Gospel of St. John, where he having asserted the eternal and divine nature of the "Word" or "Son" of God, he saith, "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father,) full of grace and truth. And of his fulness have all we received, and grace for grace. For the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ," John, i. 14. 16, 17. Here we see, first, that the Word or Son of

God was made flesh, that is, he took upon him the nature of man in general, so 'as to become "Emmanuel," God with us, God and Man in one person; and, as such, he is here said to be full of grace and truth: where by grace, I do not question but we are to understand that which in the Old Testament is called חֶסֶד, mercy; these two, חֶסֶד וְאֱמֶת, mercy and truth, being very frequently put together, mercy always before truth. As, where it is said, "All the paths of the Lord are mercy and truth," Psalm xxv. 10. "Mercy and truth are met together," Psalm lxxxv. 10. "By mercy and truth sin is purged," Prov. xvi. 6. "Mercy and truth preserve the king," Prov. xx. 28. Thus they are joined together, Gen. xxxii. 10.; 2 Sam. ii. 6., xv. 20.; Psalm xxxvi. 5., xl. 11., lvii. 3. 10., lxi. 7., lxxxix. 1, 2. 14., xcvi. 3., c. 5., cxv. 1., cxvii. 2., cxxxviii. 2.; Prov. iii. 3., xiv. 22. Thus God proclaimeth himself to be "abundant in goodness and truth," Exod. xxxiv. 6., where the word which we translate goodness is the same which, in the places before quoted, is rendered mercy; and so it is rightly translated in that parallel place: "But thou, O Lord, art a God full of compassion, and gracious; long-suffering, and plenteous in mercy and truth," Psalm lxxxvi. 15. And accordingly God the Son, as incarnate, is here said to be full of grace, or mercy, and truth. "And of his fulness," saith St. John, "all we have received." We have none but what we receive from him, and how much soever we receive, he is still full: as the sun is still full of light, notwithstanding that we continually receive and enjoy it. Neither do we only receive of his fulness in

general, but we receive grace for grace, that is, all manner of grace, according to that fulness which is in him. In him is the fulness and perfection of all grace and mercy: and for that it is in him, our Head, we of him receive whatsoever grace or mercy we have occasion for.

And the reason is, because, as it here follows, “The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.” The law, as given by Moses, threatened death and damnation, even all manner of judgment without mercy, to all that continued not in all things written in it; which no man having done, all are by the law condemned to die, and suffer all the punishments which are there threatened without any hopes of mercy, there being none there promised. But as the law was thus given by Moses, grace or mercy and truth came, ἐγένετο, was made, by Jesus Christ, as the author and procurer of it. The law hath concluded all under sin, and therefore hath passed the sentence of condemnation upon all. And if the sentence be ever revoked or omitted, or if it be not actually executed, it must be acknowledged to be a great mercy. But there is no such mercy promised in the law given by Moses: there is not a word of that there, nor any where else, but only in the gospel of Christ; who, having in our nature undergone the punishments to which we are condemned by the law, he hath thereby made way for mercy to be shown us, by God’s accepting of his death instead of ours, and so acquitting or discharging us from it: yea, he hath thereby merited or purchased mercy for us, all

manner of mercy, in that his death was of infinitely more value than all ours could ever have been. For that God is never merciful to any but only for the sake of his Son, and upon the account of his death, is plain from his never showing any mercy, but only to those for whom Christ died. The fallen angels stand in as much need of mercy as fallen man, but they never had nor ever will have any, because Christ did not die for them. But he having taken our nature upon him, and in it suffered the punishments which by the law were due to us, God is graciously pleased, for his sake, to promise grace or mercy to us: and whatsoever grace or mercy we receive from him, it comes to us only by Jesus Christ; as the Holy Ghost here assures us, saying, "That grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." It was in him that grace was at first promised to us, and it is in him that such promises are verified or fulfilled. For, as the Apostle saith, "All the promises of God in him are yea, and in him amen," 2 Cor. i. 20.; that is, in him they were all made, and in him they are all confirmed and performed to us. And therefore truth is not here opposed, as it is commonly thought, only to the types and figures of the law, but it signifies more especially the truth and certainty of the promises which God hath made to mankind of grace and mercy in his Son. And that is the reason that mercy, as I observed before, is not only here, but all along in the Holy Scriptures, put before truth: because mercy is first promised, and then truly granted according to that promise, and both by Christ. It was by him that grace

was at first promised to us, and it is by him that the truth of such promises is assured to us, and so both “grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.” *Vide* Psalm lxxxix. 33, 34. 49.

From hence we may gather what is here meant by the grace of “the Lord Jesus Christ,” in my text. It is the grace, the free undeserved favour and mercy; it is the grace of the Lord, the Almighty God, the eternal and only-begotten Son, of the same substance and glory with the Father; it is the grace of the Lord Jesus, the most high God made man, and so become Jesus, a Saviour to save his people from their sins: it is the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, of God our Saviour, anointed to be to us a prophet, a priest, and king, and so fully qualified and able to do all things necessary for our salvation. And therefore all such things are here signified by the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ. All things that are required, all things that can any way conduce to our eternal salvation; they are all contained in and they all proceed from his grace and mercy to us, without whom we can neither have nor do any thing at all towards it. But by him, there is nothing but we may have, nothing but we can do, that he would have us, in order to our being saved. By him we are “called out of darkness into his marvellous light,” Rom. i. 6., 1 Pet. ii. 9. By him we have grace to repent, and turn every one from his own iniquities, so that “sin shall not have dominion over us, seeing we are not under the law, but under grace,” Acts v. 31., iii. 26.; Rom. vi. 14. By him “we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sin, according to the riches of his grace,”

Eph. i. 7., Col. i. 14., Eph. iv. 32. By him "we are justified freely through his grace," and "accounted righteous before God himself," Rom. iii. 24., Tit. iii. 7. 2 Cor. v. 21. By him, "being justified by faith, we have peace with God," and are as perfectly reconciled unto him as if he had never been angry or displeased with us, Rom. v. 1. 10. By him we have "power to become the sons of God, and if sons, then heirs, heirs of God, and joint-heirs with him" who is heir of all things, John, i. 12., Rom. viii. 17., Heb. i. 2. By him we are "washed from our sins in his own blood, and are made kings and priests to God and his Father," Rev. i. 5, 6. By him we can "overcome the world," and triumph over death itself, 1 John, v. 4, 5., 1 Cor. xv. 57. By him we can do, and by him we can suffer whatsoever God sees good to lay upon us; for "his grace is always sufficient for us, and his strength made perfect in our weakness," so that "we can do all things through Christ which strengthens us," 2 Cor. xii. 9., Phil. iv. 13. By him we have a place prepared for us in heaven, "that where he is there we may be also, to behold his glory and be glorified together with him," John, xiv. 2, 3., xvii. 24.; Rom. viii. 17. In short, by him we may have every thing that is any way necessary, either to the beginning, the carrying on, or the perfecting our salvation; "for he is able to save to the utmost all that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them," Heb. vii. 25. All these things we have by Christ, and receive them of that infinite grace and mercy that is in him. And therefore the Apostle wishing to the Corinthians "the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ,"

he thereby wished them every thing relating to their eternal salvation, as coming wholly and solely from his grace and mercy.

The next thing that follows in my text is “the love of God.” And it may well follow upon “the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ” here, for it doth so every where. For he, the eternal Son of God, having, as I have shown, reconciled us to his Father, wheresoever his grace is, the love of the Father follows in course, who being always well pleased with all that partake of him; and hath a special love for them; the love of a father to his children, who is not only most tenderly affected towards them, but takes particular care of them, provides all things necessary for them, corrects them when they do amiss, encourages them when they do well, and settles a sufficient maintenance upon them, that they may live comfortably in the world, according to every one’s estate and quality. Such is the love of the great God to those who by the grace of Christ are made his children. He keeps them always under his own care and conduct; he gives them all things necessary both for life and godliness: he “chasteneth them, not for his own pleasure, but for their profit, that they may be partakers of his holiness.” He plentifully rewards all the services they perform him in this world; and in the next he settles a kingdom upon every one of them, the kingdom of heaven itself, where they ever live as happily as it is possible for creatures to live; and all because he loves them as his own children by adoption, and the grace of his only-begotten Son.

This, therefore, is here meant by the love of God, the

Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in him our God, and our father. It is the love of God, as he is the maker, preserver, and governor of the whole world, and orders and disposeth of all things in it, according to his own will and pleasure; and therefore, as for his own glory, so likewise for the good of these, he lives and is well pleased with them. For we know, saith the Apostle, "that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are called according to his purpose," Rom. viii. 28. All that love God, God loves; and seeing he loves them, he makes all things concur to their advantage. For which purpose by his good providence he makes them of such a temper as will best suit with the circumstances he designs for them, or else orders their circumstances so as will best suit with the temper he made them of. He measures out such a proportion of the good things of this life to them, as he knows will be good for them, and no more. He allots them such a place to live in upon earth, where they may enjoy the means whereby to obtain grace and salvation by his Son. He keeps them from falling into any evil, and all evil from falling upon them. He defends them from all their enemies, or else turns their hearts, and makes them to become their friends. He infatuates the counsels and defeats all the ill designs that men or devils can form against them. He hears the prayers they put up unto him in his Son's name, and for his sake accepts of all the duties they perform to him. He is with them wheresoever they are, to direct, assist, and prosper them in whatsoever they do: he sanctifieth and blesseth all manner of occurrences to

them, so that every thing which happens is, all things considered, the best that could happen to them. There are many, I may truly say innumerable such instances of the love which God the Father is pleased for his Son's sake to manifest to those who are regenerate, and so made his children in him, even by his ordinary providence. And where that fails, he is pleased to do it in an extraordinary and miraculous manner, as we see in the children of Israel; for he having a special love for them, by reason of their near relation to his Son incarnate, he brought them into and out of Egypt; he led them, he fed them, he clothed them, with miracles, for forty years together. And all because he loved them, as it is said, Deut. iv. 37., vii. 7, 8.; and particularly when Balaam was hired to curse them, "God turned his curse into a blessing, because he loved them," Deut. xxiii. 5.

Thus he, one way or other, always preserves those he loves from all things that may hurt them, and withholds nothing from them that will really do them good: but he carries them through all the "changes and chances of this mortal life," so as to bring them at last to heaven, where they clearly see his love in every thing that ever befell them, continually praise and adore him for it, and are eternally happy in the perfect enjoyment of it. From all which it appears, how great a blessing it is to have the love of God the Father, the Almighty Creator and Governor of all things; how necessarily it follows upon the grace of his only-begotten Son, and by consequence, with how great reason, as well as charity to the Corinthians, the Apostle here, next to "the

grace of the Lord Jesus Christ," prays they might have the love of God.

And that their happiness might be complete, he adds also "the communion of the Holy Ghost," the third person in the most blessed Trinity; called the Ghost or Spirit both of the Father and the Son, because he proceeds from both; and holy in a peculiar manner, because all the holiness that is in the creatures proceeds from him. And to have communion or fellowship with him, is to partake of his holiness, and of all the glorious effects of the grace of Christ, and the love of God in him. For as he proceedeth both from the Father and the Son, both the Father and the Son act by him; and therefore he is called "the finger of God," Luke, xi. 20. The Father acteth by him in the government of the world, and all the parts of it: the Son in the government of the Church, and all particular members in it. And whatsoever blessings we receive from the Father, through the merits and mediation of the Son, they are all conveyed to us by the Holy Ghost, which for that purpose abides with us for ever, John, xiv. 16. It is he, as proceeding from, and sent by our Saviour to do it, that enlightens our minds, and teacheth us all things necessary to our everlasting peace, Eph. i. 17., Isa. xi. 2., John, xiv. 26. It is he that keepeth us from error, heresy, and schism, and guides us into all truth, both in faith and manners, John, xvi. 13. It is he that sanctifies, renews, and regenerates us, and so makes us new creatures and the children of the most high God, 2 Thess. ii. 13., John, iii. 5. 6. 8., Tit. iii. 5. It is he that beareth witness with our spirits, that we are

the children of God, Rom. viii. 16. It is he that mortifies the deeds of the body, that quickens our souls, "and worketh in us, both to will and to do, of his good pleasure," Rom. viii. 13., John, vi. 63., Phil. ii. 13. It is he that endues men with spiritual gifts, suitable to the work which God requires of them : to one he gives the "word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge, to another faith, to another the gift of healing, to another the working of miracles, to another prophecy, to another the discerning of spirits, to another divers kinds of tongues, to another the interpretation of tongues," 1 Cor. xii. 8, 9, 10. It is he that produceth in us "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance," which are therefore said to be the "fruit of the Spirit," Gal. v. 22, 23. And so is all manner of goodness and virtue, wheresoever it is found among men, it all springs from the good Spirit of God, as from its root; and from thence also receives all its nourishment, increase, and strength, Eph. iii. 16. It is he also that is our only comforter, who supports and cheers our spirits, by manifesting God's love and favour to us, lifting up the light of his countenance upon us, keeping our hearts fixed upon our promised inheritance, filling us with firm hopes, and constant expectations of it, and so giving us peace, and joy, and satisfaction of mind in whatsoever happens here below, John, xvi. 7., Acts, ix. 31., Rom. xiv. 17., &c. In short, whatsoever direction, assistance, or power we have, or can have, of thinking, or desiring, or speaking, or doing any thing that is truly good, it is communicated to us by the Spirit of God our Saviour, and

therefore is all comprehended under this one great blessing which the Apostle here wisheth for in the last place, even the communion of the Holy Ghost.

The several parts of the text being thus explained, we may easily observe the meaning of the whole to be this, that the Apostle here prays that the Corinthians might have, first, the grace of God the Son; that is, all the mercy which he, as the Redeemer of mankind, had purchased for them with his blood: secondly, that that they might have the love of God the Father; that is, all the favours which he, as the supreme Governor of the world, could show them: and thirdly, that they might have the communion of the Holy Ghost; that is, all the gifts, graces, and comforts which he could communicate unto them, both from the Father and the Son: or, in short, that they might have all things that God the Son, or God the Father, or God the Holy Ghost could do for them, according to their several ways of working in the world; that is, all things that could any way contribute to make them completely happy. All which, David also, or the Church by him, prays for in the same method and order, saying, “אלהים” “be merciful unto us, and bless us, and cause his face to shine upon us.” Psal. lxvii. 1.

Now from hence we may learn how necessary it is to believe in the most blessed Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; three persons, one God: seeing that they are all pleased to concern themselves so much about us, and our happiness depends upon them all. Hence we may learn to confide and trust on all and every one of these Divine Persons for all things

relating to our happiness and salvation. Hence we may learn what infinite cause we have to praise and adore God for his infinite goodness to us poor mortals upon earth, and to sing with the choir of heaven, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory." Isa. vi. 3.

Hence we may learn how much we are obliged to serve, and love, and please God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, who is thus infinitely gracious, and loving, and bountiful unto us. Hence we may learn what great reason our Church had to appoint, that at the end of every Psalm, as well as upon other occasions, we should say or sing, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost." Hence, lastly, we may learn wherefore our Church concludes her daily prayers, as the Apostle doth this epistle, with the words of my text; even because they contain, in short, all that we can pray for, and are in effect the same form which God himself prescribed, wherewith the priest should bless the people. "On this wise," saith he, "ye shall bless the children of Israel: The Lord bless thee, and keep thee: The Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace." Numb. vi. 24, 25, 26. Where Jehovah, the Lord, is thrice repeated, and in the original, hath in each place a several accent, to denote, as the Jews themselves acknowledge, some great mystery; which can be no other but the most blessed Trinity: all the three persons whereof are here called, every one, the Lord Jehovah. The Father is placed first; but the

blessings bestowed severally by each person are the same which are ascribed to them in my text. And when the priest pronounced this blessing to the people (as we still do in the visitation of the sick) God promised that he himself would accordingly bless them. And if you faithfully and devoutly receive it as ye ought, I do not question but he will do so now, upon my pronouncing in his name the same blessing, according to this apostolical form in my text: “The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all.” Amen.

THE CONSECRATION OF BISHOPS.

A CONSECRATION SERMON.

[ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT.]

TITUS, i. 5.

Τούτου χάριν κατελιπόν σε ἐν Κρήτῃ, ἵνα τὰ λείποντα ἐπιδιορθώσῃ, καὶ καταστήσῃς κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους, ὥς ἐγὼ σοι διαταξάμην.

For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee.

THIS epistle is one of the three, not unfitly styled the hierarchical epistles, *de statu ecclesiastico compositæ*, as Tertullian^a speaks; being so many rescripts apostolical to Timothy and Titus, (the one desired by St. Paul to stay at Ephesus, Primate of Asia; the other left in Crete, Metropolitan of that^b and the neighbour islands;) directing them^c how they ought to behave themselves in “the house of God, which is the church of the living God.” True and genuine decretal epistles; not like that counterfeit ware which Isidore Mercator^d, under venerable names, hath had the hardiness to obtrude upon the world; but of the right stamp and alloy, and such

^a Adv. Marcion, l. 5. in fine.

^b Vide S. Hieron. in Catalog. Script. Eccles.

^c 1 Tim. iii. 15.

^d Vide D. Blondelli Pseudo Isidor.

as St. Augustine saith^a a bishop ought always to carry in his hand, and to have before his eyes.

The verse I have read to you, following immediately upon the salutation, begins the body of the epistle itself; and, like an ingenious and well-contrived perspective, gives us, from the very front, a fair prospect into the contents of the whole. It is, as it were, a kind of magical glass; in which the man not blind with ignorance, nor bleared with passion, may see distinctly the face of the primitive Church, in that golden age of the Apostles; the platform of her government; the beautiful order of her hierarchy; the original and derivation of her chief officers, and their subordination both to one another, and to Christ, the great Bishop of our souls^b; in the last resort; together with the manage and direction of the most important acts of the government, both in point of ordination and jurisdiction too. For here we have *πρεσβυτέρους κατὰ πόλιν*, elders, that is, bishops (as shall be showed in due time), disposed of city by city, in every city one; these bishops both ordained and ordered, constituted and corrected, created and governed, by Titus alone: and so he, in right of the premises, no other than metropolitan or archbishop there^c; the angel, or the arch-angel rather, of the whole Church of Crete. If you ask who fixed him the intelligence of so large an orb? it was Paul himself: you have that, too, in the text: “For this cause left I thee in Crete.” If yet higher your curiosity will needs see the derivation of St. Paul’s power too, he opens his commission,

^a De Doct. Christian. l. 4. c. 16.

^b 1 Pet. ii. 25.

^c Vide Reverendis. Armachan. de Orig. Metropolis, p. 71, 72.

verse 1., and spreads it before you, styling himself “a servant of God, and an apostle of Jesus Christ;” one sent abroad into the world by his commission, acted and assisted by his Spirit, to plant and to govern churches after this scheme and model. So that my text, like Homer’s symbolical chain^a, consists, you see, of many links; but the highest is tied to the foot of Jupiter’s throne: or, rather, like Jacob’s mysterious ladder, the foot of it stands below in Bethel, the house of God^b, *Ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν*, the head of it is in heaven, and God himself stands at the top of it, and leans upon it^c, and keeps it firm; angels ascending and descending upon it in the intermediate degrees; the bishops of the Church, like those blessed ministering spirits, incessantly bringing down the commands of God to the Church in their doctrine, and carrying up the prayers of the Church before God’s throne, in their holy offices and intercessions. So that, you see, this holy oil^d, which without measure was shed upon the head of our great High Priest^e (all power being given to him both in heaven and earth), runs down in full stream upon the beard, (for, “As my Father sent me,” saith he to his disciples, “even so send I you^f,”) and so by and through them to their successors, holy bishops and presbyters, even down to the skirts of his garment; for in this comely and exquisite order we find it in my text: “For this cause I (Paul an apostle of Jesus Christ) left thee (Titus) in Crete, that thou

^a Il. O.^b Gen. xviii. 12. versio. LXX.^c Ib. v. 13. Vulg. Et Dominum innixum scalæ. LXX. Ἐπεστήρικτο ἐπ’ αὐτῆς.^d Psalm cxxxiii. 2.^e Matt. xxviii. 18.^f John, xx. 21.

shouldest set in order (or correct) the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee.”

In which words we have these three parts : —

First. The erection of a power in the person of Titus, a metropolitical power over the whole island of Crete: “ I left thee in Crete.”

Secondly. The end of this institution, or the use and exercise of this power, in a double instance, *ἐπιδιορθοῦν καὶ καθιστάναι*, to order and to ordain; to correct and constitute; to make bishops and govern them, *Κρίσις καὶ χειροτονία*^a, as the Greek Scholia have it: “ For this cause—that thou shouldest set in order what was wanting, and ordain elders in every city.”

Thirdly. The limitation of all to apostolical prescript and direction; both ordination and jurisdiction too, the whole office must be managed, *Ὡς ἐγὼ σοι διαταξάμην*, “ as I had appointed thee.” These are the parts.

Of which that I may so speak, and you so hear, and all of us so remember, and so practise, that God’s holy name may be glorified, and we all built up in the knowledge of that truth which is according unto godliness; we beseech God the Father, in the name of his Son Jesus Christ, to give us the assistance of his Holy Spirit.

And in these, and all other our supplications, let us always remember to pray for Christ’s holy catholic Church, *i. e.* for the whole congregation of Christian people, dispersed through the whole world; that it would please Almighty God to purge out of it all schism, error, and heresy, and to unite all Christians in

^a Theophyl. in Hypoth.

one holy bond of faith and charity; that so at length the happy day may draw upon us, in which all that do confess his holy name, may agree in the truth of his holy word, and live in unity and godly love. More especially let us pray for the Churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland; that the God of peace, “who maketh men to be of one mind in a house,” would make us all of one soul and of one spirit, that again we may meet together and praise him with one heart and mouth, and worship him with one accord in the beauty of holiness. To this end I am to require you most especially to pray for the King’s most excellent Majesty, our Sovereign Lord Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and supreme Governor of these his realms, and in all other his dominions and countries, over all persons, in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal; that God would establish his throne in righteousness, and his seed to all generations. Also for our gracious Lady Mary the Queen-Mother; for the most illustrious Prince James, Duke of York; and for the whole Royal Family: that God would take them all into his care, and make them the instruments of his glory, and the good and welfare of these nations. Further, let us pray for the ministers of God’s holy word and sacraments, as well archbishops and bishops, as other pastors and curates; for the lords and others of His Majesty’s most honourable council; and for all the nobility and magistrates of the realm: that all and every of these, in their several callings, may serve truly and painfully to the glory of God, and the edifying,

and the well governing of his people, remembering the account that they must make. Let us also pray for the universities of this land, Cambridge and Oxford; that God would water them with his grace, and still continue them the nurseries of religion and learning to the whole land. Let us pray for the whole Commons of this realm; that, "remembering at last" from whence they are fallen, they may "repent, and do the first works," living henceforth in faith and fear of God, in humble obedience to their king, and in brotherly charity one to another. Finally, let us praise God for all those that are already departed out of this life in the faith of Christ, and pray unto God we may have grace to direct our lives after their good examples; that this life ended, we may be made partakers with them of the glorious resurrection in the life everlasting. For which, and for all other needful blessings, let us say together the prayer of our Lord, who hath taught us to say, "Our Father," &c.

"For this cause I left thee in Crete," &c.

The erecting of the power; that is the first: "I left thee in Crete." Where we have these particulars: The original of this power, in *Ego*; the subject of it, in *Te*, *Ego*, *Te*; the conveyance in *Ego reliqui*; and the extent, in *reliqui Cretæ*, or in *Creta*.

I. "I left thee; I, the apostle of Jesus Christ," (ver. 1.) left thee mine. There is the source and the stream, the original and the derivation of all; it was from our Lord, by his apostle: I did it, his commissioner.

(1.) And therefore, first, not a suffragan of St. Peter,

as some of the Romish partizans would fain have it^a ;” who, to serve the over-high pretences of that court, are not content to dogmatise, that St. Peter was the prince and sovereign of the Apostles, and his very successors superior to the Apostles that survived him ; and that, they being once all dead, there was never since any power in the Church, but in succession to him, and by derivation from him ; dare yet higher, and with strange confidence pronounce, that the Apostles themselves were all ordained by St. Peter, and he alone by Christ ; and that, when the Holy Ghost said, “ Separate me Barnabas and Saul, for the work whereunto I have called them^b ;” they were thereupon sent up to Jerusalem, to be ordained by St. Peter. Affirmations so very strange, that I know not what can be more ; unless this be, that they should think them passable with us, upon the authority of Petrus Comestor^c, the scholastic historian, and those suspected decretals^d of the false merchant I mentioned at the beginning. Whereas, for the imposition of hands upon Barnabas and Saul, (were it a blessing, or were it an ordination^e,) it is plainly inferred (ver. 3.) to have been performed upon the place by the persons mentioned, verse 1. And St. Paul, for his particular, in the front of every epistle, enters his protestation against all this, as if he had foreseen it ; still qualifying himself “ an Apostle of

^a Suar. adv. Sect. Angl. l. 3. c. 12. f. Bellarm. de R. Pont. l. 1. c. 11. f. c. 23. Magal. in 1 Tim. Procem. sect. 11. and 13.

^b Acts, xiii. 2.

^c Hist. Act. Ap. c. 70.

^d Anacleti, Felicis I. Inn. I.

^e As our Church seems to have determined. See the exhortation before the Litany in the Consecration of B. B.

Jesus Christ by the will of God^a;" "an Apostle, not of men, nor by man^b," but "by the commandment of God our Saviour^c:" and accordingly, you may see him contesting it to the height, both against Peter and the rest (Gal. i. and ii. throughout), that the Gospel he preached was not of man, the Apostleship he exercised was not from man: but the one by immediate revelation, the other by assignation from heaven itself. So that, having received his mission thence, and his instructions too, he thought it unnecessary to "confer with flesh and blood," to apply himself to any mortal man, for the enhancing of either. He went up indeed to Jerusalem to visit Peter three years after his conversion, and yet once again fourteen years after^d, he returned thither, and had conference with James, and Cephas, and John: but these pillars added nothing to him; neither established his authority, nor advanced his knowledge: and Titus himself was present at the interview, and so an eye-witness that in nothing he came behind the very chiefest Apostles; for they all gave him the right hand of fellowship, far from exacting the right hand of pre-eminence: and so, "Paul an Apostle of Jesus Christ," not a deputy of the apostolical college, much less a suffragan of St. Peter, or his legate, *a latere*, as was pretended. But,

(2.) Not a disciple of Gamaliel. For there is a "disputer of this world," who having laid it down for a principle with himself (indeed his *πρῶτον ψεῦδος*) that all pretence of ecclesiastical power, as from Christ, is but

^a 2 Tim. i. 1.

^b Gal. i. 1.

^c 1 Tim. i. 1. 12. 15. 16. 18. ii. 7.

^d Gal. ii. 1. 6. 9.

an imposture, is thereupon obliged to give such an account of the appearances of it in the New Testament, as may suit with this postulatum: and accordingly, for the particular of imposition of hands for ordination of elders will have it only in pursuance of a Jewish custom^a, which St. Paul learned at the feet of his master Gamaliel, under whom he commenced elder, before he was Christian, and thereupon, after, thought good to create his own disciples to the same dignity (according to the law of those schools^b), and Titus among the rest, whom he left in Crete to do the like, and to constitute his scholars elders too, in all the cities where he should preach. A discourse so loose and incoherent, that it is not worth your while to stand by and see it fall in pieces, which it would quickly do (were it not already done to our hands^c) upon a gentle examination. I shall only remind you of what was said before upon the former particular, and so leave it in compromise to any indifferent, whether St. Paul “the Apostle of Jesus Christ,” who so stoutly refuseth to *releve* of St. Peter himself, or the rest of the Apostles, as owing his whole commissiōn to heaven alone, would yet acknowledge to hold it of R. Gamaliel, the unconverted Jew, as usher of his school, or graduate in a Rabbinical academy.

(3.) (Yet further to vindicate ourselves.) “An Apostle of Jesus Christ,” not a delegate of the civil magistrate. For Suarez^d, the Spanish Jesuit, that he may have

^a De Synod., lib. i. cap. 14. p. 569., &c.

^b Page 571. Unusquisque ritè creatus potest Discipulos suos ritè creare.

^c See Dr. H. H. Letter of Resolut., &c. Quer. 5.

^d Advers. Sect. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 8. num. 12.

something to confute in the English sect (as he will needs call us), saith confidently, that the power of order with us is nothing else but a deputation of certain persons by the temporal magistrate, to do those acts which he himself much more might do; made indeed with some kind of ceremonies, but those esteemed arbitrary, and unnecessary to the effect, which would follow as well without them, by the king's sole deputation. A calumny, which the whole business of this day most solemnly refutes: a kind of a second Nag's-head fable, a fil of the same race, both sire and dam, begotten by the father of lies upon a slanderous tongue, and so sent post about the world, to tell false tidings of the English; as credible, as that our kings excommunicate, or Queen Elizabeth preached. Would they have been just or ingenuous, they should have laid the brat at the physician's door, who was the father of it; not the beloved Physician, though his name comes nigh; (Erastus, but not *'Αγαπῆτὸς*;) no, his praise was not in the Gospel, but a physician in Geneva, learned, and eminent enough. It is remarkable that in the same place and about the same time (so unlucky an ascendant hath error and mistake upon some persons!) should three conceits be hatched concerning church government, which, like three furies, have vexed the quiet of the Church ever since: for the consistorial and congregational pretences were twins of the same birth; though the younger served the elder, and, being much overpowered, sunk in the stream of time, till it appeared again in this unhappy age, amongst the ghosts of so many revived errors, that have escaped from their tombs to

walk up and down and disturb the world. And, not long after, this physician too would needs step out of his own profession, to mistake in two other at once, policy and divinity, running a risk of setting ill understanding betwixt them, had not abler and wiser heads than he stepped in, and so evenly cut the thread, so exactly stated the controversy, and asserted the very due on either side, that there remains now no ground either of jealousy among friends, or, one would think, of slander from enemies. And yet even some of our own too (which we have reason more deeply to resent) would needs bear the world in hand, when time was that the claim of episcopal power as from Christ and his Apostles was an assault upon the right of our kings, and tended to the disherison of the crown: as if the calling might not stand by divine right, and yet the adjuncts and appendages of it by human bounty: as if the office itself might not be from Christ, and yet the exercise of it only by and under the permission of pious kings: or, as if the Church might not owe the keys of the kingdom of heaven, both that of order and that of jurisdiction too (purely spiritual, I mean, and without any temporal effect), to the donation of Christ; and yet, at the same time, owe all their co-active power in the external regimen (which is one of the keys of the kingdoms of this world, for the enforcing of obedience by constraint) to the political sanction. These things thus clearly distinguished, I cannot see why we may not with some consequence infer the apostolical, and, at least, in consequence thereupon, the divine right of our ecclesiastical hierarchy,

how harsh soever it sounds, either at Rome or Geneva; and though the hills about Trent^a resounded loud with the echo of that noise, and stiff debate, which passed upon that argument within the walls of that council. However they like it on this side the hills or beyond, St. Paul stands firmly by us, and voucheth the grand charter of his Apostolate for all: *Me me, adsum qui feci* — It was I, the Apostle of Jesus Christ, that left Titus to ordain elders in Crete; and what *κρησφύγετον* will be found for this argument? It was the Holy Ghost that made you bishops, saith the same Apostle to the elders at Miletus^b: so that these are no Milesian fables, but “the words of truth and soberness^c,” a part of the holy and divine *πραξαπόστολον*, the real acts and gestic of the Apostles of Christ; nay, the act and deed of Christ himself by his Apostle, according to that rule of the Hebrews^d, *Apostolus, cujusque est, ut quisque*. And so much for the original of the power.

I go on (II.) to the subject, and that is Titus: *Ego te, I left thee.*

1. Thee first, mine host, and of the whole Church. For when the Jews at Corinth^e contradicted and blasphemed the doctrine delivered by St. Paul, he shook his raiment, and departed into the house of one Justus^f (so we read it after the Greek copies), one that worshipped God, and dwelt by the synagogue; and there he abode eighteen months^g. But the Syriac version

^a *Vide Hist. Concil. Trid., lib. 7.*

^b Acts, xx. 38.

^c Acts, xxvi. 25.

^d שלחנו של אדם כמותו Talm. in Kidduschin., fol. 41-2.

^e Acts, xviii. 6.

^f Verse 7.

^g Acts, xviii. 11.

saith, it was the house of Titus, (and so St. Chrysostom seemeth, by his preface to this epistle, to have found it in some copies^a;) and the vulgar Latin and Arabic, reconciling both, the house of Titus Justus, or of Titus the son of Justus. If you give credit to this tradition, thus fairly derived, it will return to this lesson: that no man serves God in vain; that none opens the doors of God's house, nor the doors of his own to receive God's Church in, that loseth his reward. Obadiah, that secured and fed an hundred prophets in persecution, received a prophet's reward, and (though but a proselyte^b) was himself made one of the twelve. The house of Obed-Edom the Gittite, and all that pertained to him, was blessed, for the ark of God's sake, that occasionally turned in thither. And Titus, a Gentile, who received St. Paul into his house, not only gains thereby the lights of faith, and the incomparable advantages of religion, but is himself introduced into the Church, which is the house of God, and set amongst the princes there, being singled out to this special honour from amongst the many that attended St. Paul in his journeyings. Hear this, you noble and generous souls, who, in this time of calamity, have spread your wings over the persecuted prophets of God, and had a Church in your house when they made a stable of the church. Believe it, God and his Church pay their quarters wherever they come, and there is not one of you shall miss of his reward.

^a Οἶμαι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ Πράξειν εἶναι μνητεῖον. Τάχα καὶ Κορίνθιος ἦν εἰ μὴ τις ἕτερος ὁμώνυμος αὐτῷ.

^b Vide Munst. Vatabl. et alios in Obad.

2. "Thee," who wert so exceedingly dear, so highly useful to me: "Titus my brother^a," "mine own son after the common faith^b:" two very endearing titles; and then, so necessary to me, "that when I came to Troas to preach Christ's Gospel, and a door was opened unto me of the Lord, I had no rest in my spirit, because I found not Titus my brother; but, taking my leave, went thence into Macedonia."^c Upon which place, with some others^d, St. Jerome hath founded his conjecture^e, that Titus was St. Paul's interpreter to the Grecians. For, though the Apostle understood the Greek language, and wrote it, too, elegantly enough, yet there might be something of uncouth and barbarous in his pronounciation^f, which rendered it not so smooth and passable to a common Greek ear; which Josephus, also, though a spruce Greek writer^g, complains of^h, as both his own, and the general infelicity of his nation. But though Titus was so needful to St. Paul in this, or some such respect, and so dear and precious in many others, yet the Apostle most resolvedly leaves him behind in Crete; as he who knew most cheerfully to sacrifice all his own advantages, and the tenderest and inmost of his affections, to the benefit of Christ's Church, and the interest of religion. Let us go and do likewise.

3. But thirdly and principally: Thee, a single per-

^a 2 Cor. ii. 13.

^b Tit. i. 2.

^c 2 Cor. ii. 12, 13.

^d 2 Cor. vii. 6.

^e Epist. 150. ad Hedib. qu. 11.

^f Divinorum sensuum majestatem digno non poterat Græci eloquii explicare sermone. S. Hieron. ibid. vide et Baron. tom. i. ann. 45. n. 32., &c.

^g Photius, Καθαρὸς τὴν φράσιν, — καὶ ἐπίχαρις.

Antiq., l. 20. c. ult. Τὴν δὲ περὶ τὴν προφορὰν ἀκρίβειαν πατριος ἐκώλυσε συνήθεια.

son; not a consistory of presbyters, or a bench of elders. But this observation, together with the next particular (III.), the extent of this power, as it reacheth the whole island of Crete, I shall have occasion to resume by and by; and so pass on at present.

There is nothing behind of the first part of the text but (IV.) the conveyance of the power couched, or supposed, in *Ego reliqui*; “I left thee.” A close conveyance, by a word in which there may be much more understood than expressed; viz. a derivation or transmission of power from St. Paul to Titus, enabling him for the discharge of that work he was intrusted with. *Reliquit vice suâ*; as Haymo^a well. As if St. Paul had said, I left thee in Crete, my deputy and vicegerent there, to water what I had planted; to build up what I had founded; to perfect what I had begun. I left thee to reside in Crete, (as I besought Timothy to abide at Ephesus, *προσμεῖναι*,) to be resident there, as fixed and ordinary governor of that Church, while I went on still to preach the Gospel in other regions, where the name of Christ had not been heard. In fine, for this cause was he left, that he should perform such special acts (ordain elders and reform what was amiss), and therefore certainly left commissioned and authorised, after the apostolical guise, to do those acts, viz. by imposition of hands and episcopal ordination; which is a true gloss, though of a *pseudo Ambrose*^b, *Titum Apostolus consecravit Episcopum*: and backed by Theophylact, and others amongst the Grecians, *Ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ Κρήτης κεχειροτόνητο*.

^a In locum.

^b In Titum.

But it will best appear what the power was in the conveyance (and, consequently, what the conveyance itself), by taking notice what it was to be in the exercise of it; and so I go on to the second part of my text, in which we find it designed to a double act — to order and to ordain; *Ἐπιδιορθοῦν καὶ καθιστάναι*.

1. In the first there will be some variety. For *Ἐπιδιορθοῦν*, being properly to correct^a, or make straight that which is crooked (not that which is wanting, to which it seems not to have so just a rapport); and *τὰ λείποντα* being, in the next notion, those things which are wanting (and, therefore, not so aptly said to be corrected, as supplied or added); for the according of the terms, I cannot see why the participle may not have as powerful influence upon the verb (to qualify that), as that upon the participle; and shall, therefore, make this advantage of the doubt, to take in the consideration of both senses, and suppose that Titus is here commissioned both to supply what was wanting, and to correct what was amiss.

First, “to supply what was wanting.” And then the nerve and emphasis of the verb will lie in the preposition, *Ἐπιδιορθοῦν*, to do something additionally, and by way of supplement to what was done before, but was not sufficient. *Τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀναπληρῶσαι*, as St. Chrysostom^b, “to fill up the vacuities and defects” that were left, which probably were not a few in Crete, especially a Church so lately founded, (but the year before^c), and in which St. Paul stayed so short a time, in which long

^a Vide Sculteti Obs. in Tit. 1. c. 2.

^c Vide Baron. Ann. 58.

^b Homil. 1.

works could not be brought about. Neither let any Church, though of longer continuance, flatter and sooth up itself, with Laodicea^a, as if it needed nothing. The ship of the Church is never so perfectly rigged, but something may be added. It is seldom, or never, but some pin or other is lacking, even in God's tabernacle, while it sojourns here below, just as in the material Church: it is scarce known, but either the roof is open, or the pavement uneven, the windows broken, or some part or other of the wall mouldering and dropping away: so in the spiritual, either the light is not good, or the walking is not answerable; it is well if the foundation stands firm and sinks not; but the superstructions, most commonly, want something that must be supplied. And therefore, methinks, the inference is strong. There is need of a bishop in every Church, that must learn his office in his name^b, and look about him; be "Ὁλος ὀφθαλμὸς (as Isidore Peleusiote appositely); and, like a wise master builder, have a careful eye, ever awake, upon all parts, to see what is wanting, and to supply it. That is the first.

But, secondly, "to correct what is amiss:" things that are faulty and defective, and want something (*sc.* of their due rectitude and conformity to the rule); for so, perhaps, the *Τὰ λείποντα* may signify *Τὰ ἐλλιπῆ*, and Hesychius^b shall warrant me that gloss. Or else *Τὰ λειποτακτοῦντα*, things that leave their rank, and start out of their place; and so to be reduced and set in order

^a Apoc. iii. 17.

^b Isid. Pelus., lib. i. ep. 149. Ἐπισκοπεῖν αὐτὸν χρὴ, καὶ ὅλον εἶναι ὀφθαλμὸν, πάντα ὁρῶντα, καὶ μηδὲν παρορῶντα.

^c Hesych. Λειπὸν τὸ ἐλλιπές ὕν. Lege λείπον, et ἐλλιπές.

again. And of this sort, also, there was but too much in Crete; for, to say nothing of the evil beasts with the nimble tongues, and slow bellies^a, we find, also, in this chapter, Jewish leaven to be purged out, and as some have thought^b, Gnostic impurity to be resisted, unruly^c, and vain talkers, and deceivers^d, subverters of whole houses; teachers of things they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake^e; men that profess to know God, but in works deny him, being abominable, disobedient, and to every good work reprobate. So that, for ought we see, they might well enough deserve the black character the proverb brands them with, amongst the *Τρία Κάππα κάκιστα*^f, the three very infamous nations that began with C, for such a superfluity of naughtiness. St. Paul here designs a proportionate corrective, and sends Titus and his elders amongst them, to bring them into better order, by a threefold instrument, — *Vita*, *Doctrina*, *Censura*; all in this epistle, and in this chapter.

1. *Vita* first, by the example of his holy life^g: “In all things showing thyself *τύπον καλῶν ἔργων*, a pattern of good works.” For, as St. Ambrose excellently, *In Episcopo vita formatur omnium*^h; the life of the prelate is, as it were, a form or mould, in which the conversation of others is shaped and modelled; or, as Isidore Pelusiot conceits it, like a “seal well cutⁱ,” which stamps the common Christians under his care, as wax, with the

^a Tit. i. 10.^b Dr. H. Hammond in c. 1. 9. 16.^c Ver. 10.^d Ver. 11.^e Ver. 16.^f *Καππάδοκες, Κρήτες, Κίλικες*.^g Chap. ii. 7.^h Lib. 10. Epist. 82. ad Eccles. Vercel.ⁱ Lib. 1. Epist. 319. *Εἰ τύπος ἱερέως τοῦ ποιμνίου, ἀνάγκη τοῖς ἡθεσιν αὐτοῦ συνεκτυποῦσθαι τὸ ὑπήκοον, ὡς σημάτῳ κηρόν.*

like impressions. And therefore St. Paul, who well understood this, twice within two verses of my text requires it a qualification in a bishop, that he be blameless, ἀνέγκλητος^a, one that cannot be accused, which yet innocence itself, you know, may be; nay, but a bishop must be void of suspicion too, as well as crime. Ay, that is the way to set all right indeed: for so fair a copy, placed in so good a light, teacheth itself; and every one that runs by will read it, and strive to write after it.

2. But secondly, *Doctrina*; by “speaking the things that become sound doctrine.” For a bishop^b must be able both to exhort^c and to convince the gainsayers^d: “in doctrine showing uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity, sound speech that cannot be condemned, that he that is of the contrary part may be ashamed,” &c.

3. *Censura*: that must not be forgotten, as being chief in the eyes of the text. No; the garden of God must be weeded sometimes, or, like the sluggard’s vineyard^e, it will soon be overgrown with nettles and thorns. Even Christ’s vine must be pruned too, or it will run out and spend itself in fruitless luxury. The lamps of the Temple will burn faint and dim, if they be not trimmed, and dressed, and snuffed now and then. And therefore, though the tables of the Law, and the pot of manna be in the ark, yet it is not a perfect emblem of the Church, unless the rod of Aaron be there too: and, without jurisdiction and discipline, we shall quickly find the word and sacraments will not have so powerful an influence upon a loose and a de-

^a Inaccusabilis; Cajetan.

^d Chap. ii. 7, 8.

^b Chap. ii. 1.

^c Prov. xxiv. 30, 31.

^e Chap. i. 9.

bauched world. Epiphanius^a observes, that Moses was sent into Egypt, *ῥαβδῶ μόνῃ*. Some while after, he instituted the Passover, and received the Law, and consecrated Aaron and his sons to the priesthood; but he carried the rod of God with him in his hand. No bringing up the Israel of God out of Egypt without it. And it is that rod, therefore, which St. Paul here puts into Titus's hand, when he bids him correct what is amiss, in the text, and rebuke evil doers^b sharply and severely (ver. 11.); and stop the mouths of such as teach what they ought not (ver. 13.). Nay, and rebuke them^c with all authority, not suffering his monitions to be slighted by any: "Let no man contemn thee."^d

Nay, if *corrigas* will not serve the turn, be a word too low, St. Jerome, upon the place, and, after him, Cardinal Cajetan, have added a cubit to it stature, and advanced it into *super-corrigas*, which yet perhaps arrives not the full altitude of the Greek. For *ἐπι-διορθοῦν* is a decompound, and, if *ὀρθοῦν* be "to make straight or right," *διορθοῦν* is "thoroughly to do it," and *ἐπιδιορθοῦν* "to do it, not only exactly, but over and over again." St. Chrysostom and St. Jerome^e both take notice of this emphasis, and state it thus: "That whereas St. Paul had corrected some things, and so far, Titus should go on where he left, and complete what he had begun; bringing them yet to another test, till they came forth, like gold, more than once tried in the furnace."

An hint which will perhaps be too greedily caught

^a Contra Hæres. lib. i. c. 1. Contra Aerian.

^c Μετὰ πάσης ἐπιταγῆς.

^d Chap. xi. 15.

^b Ἀποτόμως.

^e In locum.

at by those to whose advantage it was never intended: a sort of men, that are all for super-corrigas, but it is still on the wrong side, and of that which is not amiss; the reformers of the world, and syndios of all Christendom; men but of yesterday, yet wiser and better than all the fathers, that over-correct and over-reform every thing: correct Magnificat itself, before they be out of danger of the rest of the proverb: correct, not the Cretans and their amisses, but Titus and his elders, serving all antiquity, and patterns of primitive government, as Procrustes^a did his guests, who still reduced them to the scantling of his beds. So these, either cutting them short or forcing them out longer, till they apply to the just model they have fancied to themselves, and would impose upon others. Thus Titus must be screwed up into an extraordinary, and so a temporary officer, an Evangelist, or a secondary Apostle, (as Walo Messalinus, and others,) not a fixed and ordinary governor of the Church of Crete, lest that come cross to their designs: and on the other side, the elders of the text must be degraded into common presbyters, lest we should have bishops here of St. Paul's and Titus's own creation: with how little reason in either, we go on to consider in

II. The second act, to which this power is here designed, and that is *καθιστάναι*, “to ordain elders in every city.”

Concerning which elders, whether of the first or second rank, I know well what variety of opinion hath passed, even amongst my own mother's sons. Nor shall

^a Ἀναγκάσας αὐτοὺς ἀπιστοῦν τοῖς κλιντήρησι. Plut. in Thesev.

I be nice to acknowledge it; as counting it our advantage, that we have more than a single hypothesis to salve the phenomena, and some choice of answers, each of them sufficiently securing us from the contradiction of the gainsayers: to whose pretensions these elders will be for ever useless, whether understood bishops, or common *presbyters*, always ordained, and governed, either by the Apostles themselves, or by bishops of their appointment, as they drew off. But, not to leave it wholly in the clouds, I will not doubt to profess mine own sense too, with due submission; that the elders in the text were very bishops, appointed one for every city, and the suburbicarian region thereof.

1. For this is most agreeable, not only to the exposition of the ancient Church (the best comment, when all is done, upon doubtful places of Scripture); —

2. But to the context, also, which expressly calls them bishops in the seventh verse. Were it not for this, and what follows in the next particular, we were, perhaps, at liberty to leave the world at large in its general acception, as it takes in both orders, both useful in every city, and so both to be supplied by Titus, in which *Œcumenius*^a hath gone before us, affirming, that Titus was left in Crete, “to ordain clerks in every city.” But we are determined: for, though at present I demand not, that *πρεσβύτερος*, wherever it occurs in the New Testament, should signify a bishop; yet, that *ἐπίσκοπος* doth so, I shall not doubt to affirm, till I see the text produced that attributes it to some person,

^a Argum. in Tit. *ἵνα καταστήσῃ κατὰ πόλεις κληρικούς.*

otherwise evinced to have been no more than a single presbyter.

And thirdly, and lastly, most agreeable also to the text itself, and the distribution of these presbyters by cities, the peculiar seat of bishops, according to the scheme of the ancient Church, and the method the blessed Apostles thought good to use in the planting and modelling of it. For, that they preached the Gospel, not only in cities^a, but in the countries adjoining, yet planted churches in cities still, and settled single persons their successors there, to govern both the cities and the regions round about, (from whence a city and a Church come to be equipollent terms, even in the apostolical writings, and *πρεσβύτερος κατὰ ἐκκλησίαν* in the Acts^b the same with *πρεσβύτεροι κατὰ πόλιν* in the text;) and yet further, that they left the churches of inferior cities and their bishops in dependance upon the metropolis, which were the chief according to the civil division (and that the only true ground of the superiority of one Church above another), hath been rendered as manifest as anything almost in the ecclesiastical antiquity, against all adversaries (both those of the hills and those of the lake too), by the learned and well-placed labours of those excellent persons in both pages of the diptychs, whom I shall not need to name, since their own works praise them in the gate. Now, I would ask the question, if these be common presbyters, why appropriated to cities? Were there to be none of this sort in the villages, or in the country about? Or,

^a Ἡ χώρα, vel ἡ περὶ χώρας. Acts, xiii. 49., and xiv. 6, 7.

^b Acts, xiv. 24., and xvi. 4, 5.

since limited to cities, why should we not pronounce them bishops? the city being the bishop's proper seat, and he the star of that orb, the angel and the intelligence of that sphere. A truth so visible, that Calvin, and Beza, and many others after them (so far may persons otherwise of great learning be transported ἐν τῷ δουλεύειν ὑποθέσει), to avoid the inconvenience, were concerned to translate κατὰ πόλιν here *oppidatim* (elders in every town): not, as some others, less interested persons, may perhaps be thought to have done to gain the advantage of that distributive termination, which no adverb from *civitas*, or *urbs*, could afford them; but^a, I fear, for some other design perhaps, to make the interpretation of the text (a practice too usual with them and other) to lacquay it to the espoused opinions, and to serve the κυρία δόξα, and so to whip theology with grammar's rods; but so loosely bound up, that at the first stroke they fly in the air and prove ineffectual; every alphabetarian knowing well, that the Latin of it is *urbs*, or *civitas*: and *oppidum*, in the precise propriety of language (which ought in such cases to be kept), κωμόπολις at the most, in middle state betwixt a city and a drop; and in the ancient glosses^b no more than πολίχμιον, *civitatula* at the highest.

And now, I shall not take upon me, as some have done, to number the cities under Titus's jurisdiction. It is true, in Homer's time, Crete was ἐκατόμπολις^c, famous for its hundred cities: but in Ptolemy's age

^a See Mr. Hooker's Preface.

^b Glos. Philox et Cirilli.

^c Centum urbium clara fama. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 12.

they arose not to half the number ; and Pliny, having named about forty, saith plainly, that of the other sixty *memoria extat*, nothing remained but the memory. In the times of the Greek empire, there were about twenty suffragan bishops, under four archbishops, as Magnus^a reckons them up ; but, at this day, under the Venetian, not half so many of either sort. So variable are these proportions, according to the fate of cities, and the daily change of the civil partition. Who would look now for the throne of a primate in Caer-Leon upon Uske ? or rake in the ruins of Carthage for St. Cyprian's mitre ? He that should undertake a pilgrimage to Crete, to visit Titus's metropolis, would in vain inquire for the once famous Gortyna, and not find so much of its dust together as would suffice to write its name in. That renowned Septenary of Asia, of old not only episcopal^b, but metropolitical churches, where are they ? Cities may fail, and bishops' sees with them : stars have their vicissitudes ; may rise, and set again : candlesticks are moveable utensils, and may be carried from room to room ; but *κατὰ πόλιν* is the standing rule, and fails not ; a city and a bishop, generally adequate to one another. For as on the one side, an universal bishop, with the whole world for his jurisdiction, is a proud pretence, and too vast for humanity to grasp ; so, on the other side, rural bishops too is a poor and a mean design, and not only retrieves the Italian Episcopelli, so scorned at Trent, but worse.

^a In Gregor. p. 183. b.

^b See the learned Primate's excellent Discourses of the Original of Metrop. and the Proconsular Asia.

As he divided the stream into so many rills, that it lost its name and being; so these, by a too minute division, would cantonize the dignity, and degrade it into nothing at the last; as the Roitelets, and petty kings of Ivedot, do but diminish majesty, and take it down into contempt.^a Οὐ δεῖ ἐν ταῖς κώμας, Οὐ δεῖ ἐν ταῖς χώραις. *Non in vicis, aut villis, aut*^b *modica civitate*: No bishops there^c, lest they grow contemptible; so run the canons of the ancient Church, both Greek and Latin. And therefore the twelfth council of Toledo^d unmitred one Convildus, formerly an abbot in a little village, and dissolved the bishopric, which Bamba^e, the Gothic king, had violently procured to be erected there; and that by authority of this rule of the Church, and the very κατὰ πόλιν of my text^f, which they actually plead in the front of their decree, to justify their proceedings.

Amongst these so many cities in Crete, Gortyna was then the civil metropolis, as Solinus^g, who lived in that age, informs us, and in the next age, we are sure, the ecclesiastical metropolis too; there being still extant^h, in the Church Story, the inscription of an epistle that plainly infers it. For Dionysius, that renowned bishop of Corinth, who flourished about the middle of the second century, and stands so highly commended in Eusebius for his Catholic Epistles (seven of them being there mentioned) to several churches and their bishops,

^a Concil. Laodic. Sardic. Tolet. 12.

^b q. d. Non in oppido.

^c Ne vilescat nomen Episcopi.

^d Ann. 716.

^e Or Veamba.

^f Imprimis ex Epistola Pauli Tito Discipulo, ut Episcopos per civitates constituere debeat, præcepit, &c. Concil. Merlin. tom. i. p. 135. b.

^g Cap. 17. Centum constipati urbibus quarum principatus est penes Gorty.

^h Euseb. l. 4. cap. κγ.

or, as St. Jerome^a hath it more distinctly, *Ad aliarum urbium, et provinciarum episcopos*, (some of them being written to inferior cities and bishops, others to mother-cities and their metropolitans, and so to whole provinces,) amongst the rest sent two into Crete, the one of the former sort to *Pinytus Gnossiae urbis episcopus*, as St. Jerome, or as Eusebius^b, to the Gnossians, and Pinytus, bishop of that diocese only: the other of the latter sort and in a different style^c, to the Church about (or belonging to) Gortyna, together with the rest of the dioceses in Crete, and in it acknowledgeth Philip their bishop, that is, not only of that church of Gortyna, but of all those dioceses, (*ἐπίσκοπον αὐτῶν*, not *αὐτῆς*,) whom therefore St. Jerome significantly qualifies *episcopum Cretensem, hoc est urbis Gortynæ*, bishop of Gortyna, *et eo nomine* of all Crete too. Enough to make evidence, that Gortyna was the metropolis of Crete, even in the Christian account, very early, and long before the council of Nice (whatever hath been pretended to the contrary), and probably in the epoch of the text itself: since even then it was certainly such in the civil style, most confessedly the ground of the Christian establishment (for sure it was not chance, or lottery, that produced a perpetual coincidence) both there, and elsewhere the world over.

And now, let me lead you up to the top of Mount Ida, the proudest height in Crete; from whence, geo-

^a In Catalogo Script. Eccles.

^b Πρὸς Κνωσίας καὶ τὸν Πίνυτον τῆς παροικίας ἐπίσκοπον.

^c Τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ παροικούσῃ Γόρτυναν, ἅμα ταῖς λοιπαῖς κατὰ Κρήτην παροικίαις.

graphers tell us, we may descry both seas, and see all the cities, like a crown, in circle about it. There let us make a stand a while, and look about us, and consider holy Titus, with those numerous plantations and nurseries of primitive Christianity, distributed, as it were *areolatim*^a, like so many distinct beds, and knots in the Eden of God, planted and watered and dressed by apostolical hands, all under his care and custody. Consider him (by way of recollection) under the variety of circumstance wherein the text hath hitherto presented him to our meditations: consider him a single person; no colleagues, no compeers, no co-ordinates. For, as our Lord promised the keys (and doubtless so gave as he had promised them), not to a college, but to single persons^b, *Tibi dabo — et quodcunque (tu) ligaveris*; so the Apostles, at the next remove. St. Paul here, I am sure, for one, intrusts all, not to communities and consistories, but to individuals; for so runs the style: *Ego Te — ut Tu sicut ego Tibi*, all personal, and particular. Consider him determined to a fixed and constant residence, left and settled in Crete, the ordinary and perpetual governor of that church. For we ought to have more regard to reason and the true nature of things, than to pronounce him an extraordinary officer, who, for aught appears, is impowered to none but acts of ordinary and continual importance to the Church; and more reverence for the blessed Apostle, than to think he would issue a commission, full fraught with rules of perpetual use, to a temporary delegate, who was per-

^a Πραισιαὶ πραισιαί.^b Matt. xvi. 19.

haps next day to be exauctorated, and never to have any exêrcise of them. Consider him yet further invested with a plenitude and sufficiency of power (not only to preach and baptize, and so to beget sons to God and the Church, which is the presbyter's, and, for aught I know, the whole of the evangelist's office; but also) both to ordain elders in all the cities under him, and so to beget spiritual fathers too, as Epiphanius distinguisheth^a; and then (as in the old paternal dominion, they ruled whom they had begotten) to govern and regulate whom he had thus ordained, even all the bishops of those numerous cities. Whence the question of our reverend and learned Jewel^b most naturally proceedeth: "Having the government of so many bishops, what may we call him but an archbishop?" (And I add) of so many cities, what but a metropolitan? I say, consider all this soberly and maturely, and you will not disavow me if I say, that whosoever shall drive us out of this Crete, thus strongly garrisoned by St. Paul and his disciples, and slight and dismantle so many strengths and fortresses of the episcopal cause as there were cities in that island, and extort out of our hands this great instance of so many bishops, ordained and governed by their own metropolitan, so high in the first age, will be a very Pyrgopolinices indeed^c, *qui legiones Spiritu difflat*, and deserve the surname of Creticus, better than Metellus the Roman, that subdued the island.

^a Contra Hæres. lib. 3. contr. Aerium.

^b Apud Rev. Usserium.

^c Plaut. in Milite.

For our parts, we are not ashamed of our conformity to so primitive a pattern; nay, we glory in so handsome and innocent a syncretism: for we are not better than our fathers, nor wiser than the Apostles of Christ himself. And, had we been of their counsel, who not long since pretended to reform us according to the best examples, we might have bespoke them, as once St. Paul did those over hasty and unruly mariners (who would needs put to sea when sailing was dangerous, and thrive accordingly, being quickly forced to abandon the helm, and to “let the ship drive^a,” “being not able to bear up against the wind^b”), “Εδει μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, μὴ ἀνάγεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Κρήτης. “Sirs, you should not have parted from Crete (in the text), and so have gained harm and disgrace.”^c If really you be in quest of the best examples of modelling a church, you may certainly find here as fair and as pure ideas, and as well worth your imitation, as the more modern platform can afford you, which^d I have reason to believe the famous author of it intended not at first a pattern to other churches, but an expedient to serve the present exigency of his own, in a juncture scarce capable of any thing better, and which, I am persuaded, the learnedest, and wisest, and most pious of his followers would gladly relinquish for something more perfect and primitive; would the necessities of their present condition (which have no law, but much of excuse for those that really lie under them) permit them the happiness of so blessed an exchange, which God in mercy send them.

^a Acts, xxvii. 15.

^c Ibid. τὴν ὕβριν καὶ τὴν ζημίαν.

^b Ver. 21.

^d See Mr. Hooker's Preface.

And so much of the second act, to which the power is here designed, and that is the ordaining of elders, together with the distribution of them *κατὰ πόλιν*, “in every city one.”

I have but three words to add of the first part of my text, and that was the limitation of these acts to the Apostle’s prescription; all must be so done, even “as he had appointed.” So in regard of the variety of the offices themselves, and their several subordinations; so in regard of the choice of the persons, and their requisite qualifications; and so, also, in regard of the rites, and ceremonies, and manner of ordaining them: still, *Ὡς ἐγὼ διέταξάμην* — all, “as I had appointed thee.”

And now, if any demand, where these *Διετάξεις*, these constitutions apostolical, are to be found; I shall not send them to Clemens’s book, that bears that name, but to the universal practice of the ancient Church, in which they are still in great part visible; and thence handed over to posterity by tradition and conformity of practice, and by degrees inserted into the canons of the old councils, as occasion was offered, and into the ordinals of several churches. Or, if a readier and more present answer be required, I know not where to design it you nearer at hand, or more full to your satisfaction, than by dismissing you, to attend the great action that is to follow. In which you will see all so grave and solemn, so pious and devout, so primitive and apostolical, and so exactly up to the level of the text, and the *Ὡς ἐγὼ διέταξάμην* of St. Paul here, that I know not where to point you out so pregnant and full

a comment upon my text, nor what better amends to make you for my own failings upon it.

And yet, having thus hastily run it over, with all its parts and branches, (some few sands still remaining of that heap, the bounty of your patience allows me,) I will crave leave briefly to take a second view of it in the auditory itself, and read it over again in the face of the assembly. For the better part of it, your own thoughts have already prevented me; and every eye hath singled out our most reverend Titus, *γνήσιον τέκνον*, a genuine son and successor of the apostles, upon the very act of constituting *πρεσβυτέρους κατὰ πόλιν*, more than a whole province of elders at once: men able to abide and pass with honour the dreadful test that follows upon my text, as being both for life blameless, sober, just, holy, temperate; and in doctrine sound, holding fast the faithful word, as they have been taught; notwithstanding all the discouragements they have met with, from the sad condition of our common mother.

But, then, for the rest; I wish it were not so easy a task to find Crete in England, with all its wants and all its amisses. For, to say nothing of those more innocent and less important resemblances, in which we symbolise (both islands lying in a kind of trigon^a betwixt three points or promontories; both styled the Happy Islands by ancient writers, *Μακαρόνησος*^b and *Insulæ Fortunatæ*^c, for the temper of the air and fertility of the soil; both denominated from those white

^a Magin. p. 182. 38.

^b Solin. cap. 17.

^c Camd. Brit. p. 3. ex Lycoph. Cassand.

and chalky cliffs^a, which bound them on one side^b, *Candia à candidis*, as Albion *ab albis rupibus*, both famous for their just laws, and ours no less to be valued than those of Rhadamanthus and Minos, had we but the wisdom to comport ourselves to the obedience of them as we ought); I say, to let all this pass, I wish we had not too much of Crete amongst us, whether morally considered, in regard of their vices, or historically, in regard of their imperfect condition.

I would not be mistaken, as one that delights to libel a whole nation at once (especially mine own); but St. Chrysostom hath dressed an apology for St. Paul in this particular, by distinguishing^c *Οὐχ ὑβριστικοῦ τοῦτο ἦθους, ἀλλὰ ἐρωτικοῦ*. He did it not to injure any, but out of kindness and pure love to reform them; just as our blessed Lord *μυρία ἐλοιδορεῖτο*, saith the same Father, a thousand times reproached the Scribes and Pharisees; not because they had wronged him, but lest they should harm and destroy others. And so St. Paul, with the same affections about him, cries, *O insensati Galatæ*^d! to one church: Are you such fools? And here,

Κρήτης ἀεὶ ψεύσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί.^e

That poet was, I think, a prophet indeed (otherwise than St. Paul meant him), and sang of us too; and in that verse the present age may see its face, and blush. I appeal to your better observation, if we have not outvied the very Cretans themselves in the first particular:

^a Creta, ab Insula Creta, ubi melior est. Isidor. lib. xvi. cap. i.

^b Magin. p. 182. 38.

^c In Tit. Hom. 1.

^d Gal. iii. 1.

^e Verse 12.

and in a worse kind, too, lied for God's sake, and talked deceitfully for him^a? What pious frauds and holy cheats? What slandering the footsteps of God's anointed, when the interest was to blacken him? What false accusing of our brethren, ay, and of our fathers too? That we might devour the man more righteous than ourselves. Pliny^b hath observed it, *Nullum animal maleficum in Cretâ*; and Solinus^c adds, *Nec ulla serpens*: but they should have excepted the inhabitants, for they were *κακὰ θηρία* (and this witness^d, I am sure, is true), not only evil beasts, as we translate it, but venomous too: and I wish there were no other island could show vipers too many, that have eat out the bowels of their common mother, and flown in the face of their political father, without whose benigner influence their chill and benumbed fortunes had not warmth enough to raise them to so bold an attempt. It is unwillingly that I go on to the rest of that character; but your own experience shall justify me if I say that the *γαστέρες ἀργαὶ* that remains hath been since exemplified in some other sense; and our idleness, and fulness of bread, those sins of Sodom, have, I fear, long since proclaimed it to our faces. And now I cannot wonder if it be observed from the records of history, (as Grotius^e assures us, who knew them well,) that the Cretans were (and I wish there were no other such) a mutinous and a seditious people; and had but too much need to be put in mind by Titus, to be subject to principalities and powers, and to obey magistrates: "For^f the men of

^a Job, xiii. 7.^d Verse 13.^b Lib. 8. cap. 58.^c In Tit. iii. 1.^e Cap. 17.^f Judg. ix. 27.

Shechem eat and drink, and (then most naturally go on to) curse Abimelech^a (ay, and David they would have done, had they lived in his time, and the flagon held out); for when our bellies and our heads are full, then woe be to our governors; and wealth, and ease, and having nothing to do, make us ripe for any thing that is evil. There were, amongst the new converts of Crete, some false brethren of the circumcision, for the stopping of whose mouths, as some have thought, and St. Chrysostom amongst the rest, St. Paul in chief designed this epistle. And I should be glad to be assured that there are not some amongst us who, though they love not to bleed, yet, I am afraid, are too prone to Judaize in some other instance, and to retrieve some other part of the Mosaical Pedagogue, which, perhaps, suits no better with that liberty^b, to which Christ our Lord hath called us, and in which we ought to stand fast. It is with much reluctance (could I baulk it so full in my way) that I show you the Cretan labyrinth, that not long since, I am sure, was amongst us (God grant it be not still), that inextricable and endless maze of errors and heresies that every day opened itself into new paths and alleys; dividing and subdividing into never-ending mistakes, till they had abased, and almost destroyed, religion with abominable heterogeneous mixtures, and left the little semblance of Christianity was left amongst them, an hideous monster, or Minotaur, *Semibovemque virum, Semivirumque bovem*: — Jerusalem and Rome, party *per pale*; with Geneva

^a Judg. ix. 10.^b Gal. v. 1.

and Cracovia, if you will have it quarterly; ay, and Mecca too, I fear, in chief, to embellish the scutcheon.

But is there no Theseus, no generous hero, to attack this monster? No courteous and charitable Ariadne that will lend a clue, and help us to disentangle the ruffled skein, and to evade these perplexed wanderings? Hath our Crete no Dictamnus in it to expel the arrow which so long hath galled our sides? No counterpoison for so many mischiefs? Or, rather, in the prophetic scheme, "Is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no physician there?"^a Yes there is; and therefore let us hope well of the healing of the wounds of the daughter of our people, since they are under the cure of those very hands upon which God hath entailed a miraculous gift of healing, as if it were on purpose to raise up our hopes into some confidence that we shall owe one day to those sacred hands, next under God, the healing of the Church's and the people's evils, as well as of the king's. Blessed for ever be that God who hath restored us such a gracious sovereign, to be the "repairer of the breach, and the nursing father of his Church^b;" and hath put it into the king's heart to appoint Titus, as this day, to ordain elders for every city, to supply all that is wanting, and to correct whatever is amiss. Blessed are our eyes, for they see that which many a righteous man (more righteous than we) desired so much to see, and hath not seen it. And blessed be this day, (let God regard it from above^c, and a more than common light shine upon it!) in which we see the phoenix arising from her funeral pile,

^a Jer. viii. 22.

^b Isa. lviii. 12.

^c Job, iii. 4.

and taking wing again ; our Holy Mother, the Church, standing up from the dust and ruins in which she sate so long, taking “ beauty again for ashes, and the garments of praise for the spirit of heaviness^a ; ” remounting the episcopal throne, bearing the keys of the kingdom of heaven with her, and armed (we hope) with the rod of discipline ; her hands spread abroad to bless, and to ordain, to confirm the weak, and to reconcile the penitent ; her breasts flowing with the sincere milk of the word, and girt with a golden girdle under the paps, tying up all by a meet limitation and restriction to primitive patterns, and prescripts apostolical. A sight so venerable and august that methinks it should at once strike love and fear into every beholder, and an awful veneration. I may confidently say it ; it was never well with us since we strayed from the due reverence we ought to heaven and her ; and it is strange we should no sooner observe it, but run a maddening after other lovers that ruined us, till God “ hedged in our way with thorns,” that we could no longer find them ; and then we said, “ I will go and return to my former husband ; for then was it better with me than now.”^b

Well, blessed be the mercies of God, we are at last returned, and Titus is come back into Crete ; and there are elders ordaining for every city. But, *hic Rhodus, hic Saltus*. Reverend father, this is your Crete, adorn it as you can. The province is hard, and the task weighty and formidable, even to an angel’s shoulders. That we mistake not, Titus was not left behind in Crete to take his ease, or to sleep out the storm which

^a Isa. lxi. 3.^b Hos. ii. 6, 7.

soon after overtook St. Paul at sea; he might well expect a worse at land (*naufragium terrestre*) and a more tempestuous Euroclydon. Believe it, a bishop's robe is *tunica molesta*^a (as the martyr's pitched coat was called of old^b), and sits, perhaps, more uneasy upon the shoulders. The mitre is not "Ὀρκοῦ γαλήνη, to render invisible or invulnerable, but rather exposeth to enemies. The rotchet and surplice, emblems of innocence indeed, but marks of envy too; and it is in those whites that malice sticks all her darts. And therefore St. Paul was fain to entreat Timothy into this dignity: "For this cause besought I thee to abide at Ephesus^c," for there were beasts to be fought with there; and the Apostle had tried them^d, both tooth and paw. So that I cannot wonder if our bishops say *nolo episcopari* in good earnest; and if any of our Zarahs thrust forth a hasty hand, and be laid hold on, and the scarlet thread cast about his finger^e, it is not strange if he draw back his hand, and refuse the primogeniture; choosing rather to lie hid in obscurity, *quàm vinctus purpurâ progredi*, as the great cardinal wittily alludes.^f As in Crete new founded, so in England new restored, there must needs be many things wanting, and much amiss, not so easily to be supplied or amended.

When the Lord turned again the captivity of Sion, they made their thankful acknowledgments, and said in the Psalm, "The Lord hath done great things for us

^a *Tunicâ punire molestâ*; Juvenal. Sat. 8.

^b *Vide* Baron. Tom. 1. Ann. 66. n. 4.

^d 1 Cor. xv. 32.

^f Baron. Epist. ad Papam Clem. viii. t. 7.

^c 1 Tim. i. 3.

^e Gen. xxxviii. 28, 29,

already, whereof we will be glad.”^a But then it follows immediately in the next verse, “Turn again our captivity, O Lord, as the rivers in the south.”^b It seems their captivity (I am sure ours) is still to turn again, even after it is returned. For there are relics of it still behind, and the sad effects remain (an age will hardly be able to efface them); and, which is the saddest of all, we are still, I fear, in captivity to the same sins that occasioned that, and they are able to bring upon us ten thousand captivities worse than the former. Plainly, there are riddles in our condition (and whose heifer shall we plow with to unfold them?^c). Returned, and not returned; restored, and yet not so fully restored: in fine, with them in the Psalm, “We are like to them that dream.”^d With St. Peter^e, the good angel hath roused us, indeed, and our chains are fallen off; we have bound on our sandals, and begin to find our legs again; and we are past the first and the second ward; but, methinks, the iron gate that leads to the city is not over apt to open to us of its own accord, so that we wist not well if it be true and real that is done by the angel; still apt to think we see a vision; still like to them that dream. We have Jerusalem (it is true) and the Hill of Sion in our eyes; yet many look back to Babel, and multitudes sit captives still by those waters, increasing them with their tears. If any have taken down their harps from those willows, they are not strung, nor well in tune; and we scarce find how to sing the Lord’s songs, even in our own land.

^a Psalm cxxvi. 3.^b Verse 4^c Judg. xiv. 18.^d Psalm cxxvi. 1.^e Acts, xii. 7, &c.

And, therefore, let me advise you now, in the close of all; give not over, but ply your devotions still; and whenever you sing *in convertendo Dominus*, in the midst of those doxologies, forget not to insert one versicle of petition, *Converte, Domine, converte*: turn again what remains of our captivity, and perfect our faint beginnings. Ay, that is the way, if we would succeed: *Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt*. For God will hear the prayers of his Church, especially for his Church, as he did those of David, Psalm cxxxii.^a “Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness:” that is the petition; and what saith the answer of God a few verses after? “I (myself^b) will clothe her priests — (with righteousness? Ay, and) with salvation (too).” “Let the saints shout for joy,” saith the Psalmist: “her saints,” saith God, “shall shout aloud for joy:” so that there is more granted in both parts than was asked. St. Paul knew well that this was the method; and therefore, before he took forth his son Titus the great lesson of my text, he first imparts his apostolical benediction^c, “To Titus, mine own son, grace, and mercy, and peace from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, our Saviour.” St. Chrysostom and Theophylact have observed it to my hand, that he bestows upon so great a bishop the same common blessing that he is wont to give to all, (*Toîς πολλοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις*,) grace, and mercy, and peace; ay, and no man, as they go on, hath more need of it than he. Not of grace; for who hath more burdens to bear? more difficulties to go through with? Not of mercy; for who in greater danger of

^a Verse 9.^b Verse 16.^c Verse 4.

offending either God or man? Not of peace : having so many enemies on all sides, and so many troubles of every sort. Only St. Jerome adds^a, that here is no *multipliciter*, as in other apprecations.^b Common Christians may have their peace multiplied: peace within and peace without; peace with God, and peace with men, too; but Titus's peace is *sine multiplicatione*. The bishops and governors of the Church must look for none, but peace with Heaven and their own consciences; and for that single pearl, like wise merchants^c, they sell all that they have; as for the rest, *ἑξωθεν μάχαι*^d, that is their lot, and that is their motto too: they must look for "fightings without." St. Paul, in that divine valedictory to the bishops of the province of Ephesus^e, "Though," as he saith, "for the space of three years together he had not ceased to warn every one of them, night and day, with tears," as knowing well both the burthen and the danger they stood under; yet (a tender affection having never said enough) he resumes the argument^f, "Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock; for I know that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in amongst you," (*λύκοι βαρεῖς*, he had almost said *λυκάνθρωποι*, mankind wolves^g;) "that will neither spare the flock nor you;" but, by a witty and compendious malice, attack the shepherd first, that the sheep may be scattered, and so gleaned up at leisure. And therefore, take heed to yourselves in the first place, in whose welfare that of the flock is so closely bound up." And yet, after all

^a In locum.^c Matt. xiii. 46.^f Verse 8.^b 1 Pet. i. 2. 2 Pet. i. 2.^d 2 Cor. vii. 5.^e Acts, xx.^g Weet-wolves, Loups-garons.

these caveats, and very seasonable advertisements, he cannot yet believe them safe, unless he leaves them under a better guard than his or their own; and therefore, in fine, he kneels down and prays with them, and for them all, recommending them to God and the word of his grace. And I know not where better to leave you, than in the practice and actual exercise of a duty so fairly recommended; and shall, therefore, desire you to turn your wearied eyes from me and lift them up to heaven, “from whence every good and perfect gift descends,” to seek from thence the smoothing of all difficulties, the solving of all doubts, the calming of all animosities, and the uniting of all affections, and to beg of that Father of mercies and God of all consolations, that he will, every day more and more, “turn again our captivity, like the rivers in the south;” that they “who sow in tears may reap in joy;” that he would send forth his good Spirit to move upon the waters of our Massah and Meribah, to digest that chaos and confusion, and strife of opinions, into one beautiful and harmonious composure; and, finally, that he, who, by the hand of his holy Apostle, founded this Church of Crete in Titus and his elders, in a meet and decent imparity and subordination, would maintain his own ordinance amongst us also, and justify his institutions to the utmost against all gainsayers; that the rod of Aaron may again bud and blossom, and bring forth fruit amongst us; that his Urim and his Thummin may be with his holy ones; that he would bless their substance, and accept the work of their hands, and smite through the loins of them that hate them, that they

rise not again ; that so there may never want a succession of holy bishops and priests, to “shine as lights in the world, holding forth the word of life, till we all come, in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God,” unto that perfection and fulness of the everlasting kingdom : to the which, God in mercy bring us all, through the merits of his dear Son. To which most blessed Father and Son, with God the Holy Ghost, be ascribed, by all the creatures in heaven and earth, blessing, honour, glory, and power, both now and for evermore. Amen.

A CONSECRATION SERMON.

[BISHOP TAYLOR.]

A SERMON PREACHED AT THE CONSECRATION OF TWO ARCHBISHOPS AND TEN BISHOPS, IN THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. PATRICK, IN DUBLIN, JANUARY 27. 1660.

LUKE, xii. 42, 43.

And the Lord said, Who then is that faithful and wise steward, whom his Lord shall make ruler over his household, to give them their portion of meat in due season?

Blessed is that servant, whom his Lord when he cometh shall find so doing.

Τίς ἄρα ἐστὶν ὁ πιστὸς οἰκονόμος καὶ φρόνιμος.

THESE words are not properly a question, though they seem so, and the particle *τίς* is not interrogative, but hypothetical, and extends “who” to “whosoever;” plainly meaning, that whoever is a steward over Christ’s household, of him God requires a great care, because he hath trusted him with a great employment: every steward οὐ κατέστησεν ὁ Κύριος, so it is in St. Matthew^a; ὃν

^a Chap. xxiv. 45.

καταστήσει ὁ Κύριος, so it is in my text: every steward whom the Lord hath or shall appoint over the family to rule it and to feed it, now and in all generations of men, as long as this family shall abide on earth; that is, the Apostles, and they who were to succeed the Apostles in the stewardship, were to be furnished with the same power, and to undertake the same charge, and to give the same strict and severe accounts.

In these words here is something insinuated, and much expressed.

1. That which is insinuated only is, who these stewards are, whom Christ had, whom Christ would appoint over his family the Church: they are not here named, but we shall find them out by their proper direction and indigitation by and by.

2. But that which is expressed is the office itself, in a double capacity. 1. In the dignity of it, it is rule and a government: “whom the Lord shall make ruler over his household.” 2. In the care and duty of it, which determines the government to be paternal and profitable; it is a rule, but such a rule as shepherds have over their flocks, to lead them to good pastures, and to keep them within their appointed walks, and within their folds: *διδόναι σιτομέτριον*: that is the work, to give them a measure and proportion of nourishment: *τροφήν ἐν καιρῷ*, so St. Matthew calls it: “Meat in the season;” that which is fit for them, and when it is fit; meat enough, and meat convenient; and both together mean that which the Greek poets call *ἀρμαλὴν ἔμμηνον*, the strong wholesome diet.

3. Lastly, here is the reward of the faithful and wise

dispensation. The steward that does so, and continues to do so till his Lord find him so doing, this man shall be blessed in his deed. "Blessed is the servant, whom his Lord when he cometh shall find so doing." Of these in order.

1. Who are these rulers of Christ's family? for though Christ knew it, and therefore needed not to ask; yet we have disputed it so much and obeyed so little, that we have changed the plain hypothesis into an intangled question. The answer yet is easy, as to some part of the inquiry. The Apostles are the first meaning of the text; for they were our fathers in Christ, they begat sons and daughters unto God, and were a spiritual paternity is evident: we need look no further for spiritual government, because in the paternal rule all power is founded; they begat the family by the power of the Word and the life of the Spirit, and they fed this family and ruled it by the word of their proper ministry. They had the keys of this house, the steward's ensign, and they had the ruler's place; for they "sat on twelve thrones, and judged the twelve tribes of Israel." But of this there is no question.

And as little of another proposition, that this stewardship was to last for ever; for the power of ministering in this office and the office itself were to be perpetual. For the issues and powers of government are more necessary for the perpetuating the Church than for the first planting; and if it was necessary that the Apostles should have a rod and a staff at first, it would be more necessary afterwards, when the family was more numerous, and their first zeal abated, and their native sim-

plicity perverted into arts of hypocrisy and forms of godliness, when "heresies should arise, and the love of many should wax cold." The Apostles had also a power of ordination; and that the very power itself does denote, for it makes perpetuity, that could not expire in the days of the Apostles, for by it they themselves propagated a succession. And Christ having promised his Spirit to abide with his Church for ever, and made his Apostles the channels, the ministers and conveyances of it, that it might descend as the inheritance and eternal portion of the family, it cannot be imagined that, when the first ministers were gone, there should not others rise up in the same places, some like to the first, in the same office and ministry of the Spirit. But the thing is plain and evident in the matter of fact also. *Quod in Ecclesiâ nunc geritur, hoc olim fecerunt Apostoli*, said St. Cyprian.^a What the Apostles did at first, that the Church does to this day, and shall do so for ever: for when St. Paul had given to the Bishop of Ephesus rules of government in his family, he commands that they should be observed "till the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ^b:" and therefore these authorities and charges are given to him and to his successors. It is the observation of St. Ambrose upon the warranty of that text, and is obvious and undeniable.

Well then, the Apostles were the first stewards; and this office dies not with them, but must for ever be succeeded in. And now begins the inquiry, who are the successors of the Apostles? for they are, they must evidently be, the stewards to feed and to rule this

^a Epist. 73. ad Juba.^b 1 Tim. vi. 14.

family. There are some that say that all who have any portion of work in the family, all the ministers of the Gospel, are these stewards; and so all will be rulers. The presbyters, surely; for, say they, presbyter and bishop is the same thing, and have the same name in Scripture, and therefore the office cannot be distinguished. To this I shall very briefly say two things, which will quickly clear our way through this bush of thorns.

1. That the word “presbyter” is but an honourable appellative used amongst the Jews, as “alderman” amongst us; but it signifies no order at all, nor was ever used in Scripture to signify any distinct company or order of clergy: and this appears not only by an induction in all the enumerations of the offices ministerial in the New Testament^a, where to be a presbyter is never reckoned either as a distinct office or a distinct order; but by its being indifferently communicated to all the superior clergy, and all the princes of the people.

2. The second thing I intended to say is this, that although all the superior clergy had not only one, but divers common appellatives, all being called *πρεσβύτεροι*, and *διάκονοι*, even the apostolate itself being called a deaconship^b; yet it is evident that before the common appellations were fixed into names of propriety, they were as evidently distinguished in their offices and powers as they are at this day in their names and titles.

To this purpose St. Paul gave to Titus, the bishop of Crete, a special commission, command, and power to

^a Rom. xii. 6. Eph. iv. 11. 1 Cor. xii. 28.

^b Acts, i. 25.

make ordinations; and in him, and in the person of Timothy, he did erect a court of judicature even over some of the clergy, who yet were called presbyters^a: “Against a Presbyter receive not an accusation but before two or three witnesses.” There is the measure and the warranty of the *Audientia Episcopalis*, the bishop’s audience court; and when the accused were found guilty, he gives in charge to proceed to censures; ἔλεγγε ἀποτόμως, and δεῖ ἐπιστομίζειν. You must “rebuke them sharply^b,” and you must silence them: “stop their mouths^c,” that is St. Paul’s word; that they may no more scatter their venom in the ears and hearts of the people. These bishops were commanded to “set in order things that were wanting” in the churches, the same with that power of St. Paul: “Other things will I set in order when I come,” said he to the Corinthian churches, in which there were many who were called presbyters, who nevertheless, for all that name, had not that power. To the same purpose, it is plain in Scripture that some would have been Apostles that were not; such were those whom the Spirit of God notes in the Revelation^d; and some did love pre-eminence that had it not, for so did Diotrophes; and some were judges of questions, and all were not, for therefore they appealed to the Apostles at Jerusalem. And St. Philip, though he was an evangelist, yet he could not give confirmation to the Samaritans whom he had baptized, but the Apostles were sent for, for that was part of the power reserved to the Episcopal or Apostolic order.

^a 1 Tim. v. 19.^c Tit. i. 11.^b Tit. i. 13.^d Cap. 2. v. 2.

Now from these premises the conclusion is plain and easy. 1. Christ left a government in his Church, and founded it in the persons of the Apostles. 2. The Apostles received this power for the perpetual use and benefit, for the comfort and edification of the Church for ever. 3. The Apostles had this government, but all that were taken into the ministry and all that were called presbyters had it not. If, therefore, this government, in which there is so much disparity in the very nature and exercise and first original of it, must abide for ever, then so must that disparity. If the Apostolate in the first stabiliment was this eminency of power, then it must be so; that is, it must be the same in the succession that it was in the foundation. For after the Church is founded upon its governors, we are to expect no change of government. If Christ was the author of it, then as Christ left it, so it must abide for ever: for ever there must be the governing and the governed, the superior and the subordinate, the ordainer and the ordained, the confirmer and the confirmed.

Thus far the way is straight, and the path is plain. The Apostles were the stewards and the ordinary rulers of Christ's family by virtue of the order and office apostolical; and although this be succeeded to for ever, yet no man for his now, or at any time, being called a presbyter or elder, can pretend to it; for besides his being a presbyter, he must be an Apostle too; else, though he be called *in partem sollicitudinis*, and may do the office of assistance and under-stewardship, yet the *κῆπος*, the government and rule of the family belongs not to him.

But then *τίς ἄρα καὶ σήμερον*, who are these stewards and rulers over the household now? To this the answer is also certain and easy. Christ hath made the same governors to day as heretofore; Apostles still. For though the twelve Apostles are dead, yet the Apostolical order is not; it is *τάξις γεννητική*, a generative order, and begets more Apostles. Now who these *minores Apostoli* are, the successors of the Apostles in that office apostolical, and supreme regiment of souls, we are sufficiently taught in Holy Scriptures; which when I have clearly shown to you, I shall pass on to some more practical considerations.

1. Therefore, certain and known it is, that Christ appointed two sorts of ecclesiastic persons;—twelve Apostles and the seventy-two Disciples: to these he gave a limited commission; to those a fulness of power: to these a temporary employment; to those a perpetual and everlasting. From these two societies, founded by Christ, the whole Church of God derives the two superior orders in the sacred hierarchy; and as bishops do not claim a divine right but by succession from the Apostles; so the presbyters cannot pretend to have been instituted by Christ, but by claiming a succession to the Seventy-two. And then consider the difference, compare the tables, and all the world will see the advantages of argument we have; for since the Seventy-two had nothing but a mission on a temporary errand,—and more than that we hear nothing of them in Scripture; but upon the Apostles Christ poured all the ecclesiastical power, and made them the ordinary ministers of that Spirit which was to abide with the Church

for ever; the divine institution of bishops, that is, of successors to the Apostles, is much more clear than that Christ appointed presbyters, or successors of the Seventy-two. And yet if from hence they do not derive it, they can never prove their order to be of divine institution at all, much less to be so alone.

But we may see the very thing itself, the very matter of fact. St. James, the Bishop of Jerusalem, is by St. Paul called an Apostle; "Other Apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother."^a For there were some whom the Scriptures call "the Apostles of our Lord;" that is, such which Christ made by his word immediately, or by his Spirit extraordinarily; and even into this number and title Matthias, and St. Paul, and Barnabas were accounted. But the Church also made Apostles; and these were called by St. Paul, ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν, "Apostles of the Churches^b," and particularly, Epaphroditus was the Apostle of the Philippians; properly so (saith Primasius): and what is this else but the bishop? saith Theodoret; for τοῦς νῦν καλουμένους ἐπισκόπους ὠνόμαζον ἀποστόλους, those who are now called bishops were then called Apostles, saith the same father. The sense and full meaning of which argument is a perfect commentary upon that famous prophecy of the Church, "Instead of thy fathers thou shalt have children whom thou mayest make princes in all lands^c;" that is, not only the twelve Apostles, our fathers in Christ, who first begat us, were to rule Christ's family; but when they were gone, their children and successors

^a Gal. i. 19.^b 1 Cor. viii. 23. Philip. ii. 25.^c Psalm xlv. 16.

should arise in their stead: *Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis*, their direct successors to all generations shall be *principes populi*, that is, rulers and governors of the whole Catholic Church. *De prole enim Ecclesiæ crevit eadem paternitas, id est, Episcopi quos illa genuit, et patres appellat, et constituit in sedibus patrum*, saith St. Austin: "the children of the Church become fathers of the faithful; that is, the Church begets bishops, and places them in the seat of fathers, the first Apostles."

After these plain and evident testimonies of Scripture, it will not be amiss to say, that this great affair, relying not only upon the words of institution, but on the matter of fact, passed forth into a demonstration and greatest notoriety by the doctrine and practice of the whole Catholic Church; for so St. Irenæus, who was one of the most ancient fathers of the Church, and might easily make good his affirmative: "We can," says he, "reckon the men who by the Apostles were appointed bishops in churches to be their successors unto us; leaving to them the same power and authority which they had." Thus St. Polycarp was by the Apostles made Bishop of Smyrna; St. Clement, Bishop of Rome by St. Peter; and divers others by the Apostles, saith Tertullian; saying also that the Asian bishops were consecrated by St. John. And to be short, that bishops are the successors of the Apostles in the stewardship and rule of the Church, is expressly taught by St. Cyprian and St. Hierom, St. Ambrose and St. Austin, by Euthymius and Pacianus, by St. Gregory and St. John Damascen, by Clarius à Muscula

and St. Sixtus, by Anacletus and St. Isidore, by the Roman Council under St. Sylvester, and the Council of Carthage^a; and the διαδοχή, or succession of bishops from the Apostles' hands in all the churches apostolical was as certainly known as in our chronicles we find the succession of our English kings, and one can no more be denied than the other. The conclusion from these premises I give you in the words of St. Cyprian^b: *Cogitent Diaconi, quod Apostolos, id est, Episcopos, Dominus ipse elegerit*: "Let the ministers know that Apostles, that is, the bishops, were chosen by our blessed Lord himself;" and this was so evident, and so believed, that St. Austin affirms it with a *nemo ignorat*: "No man is so ignorant, but he knows this, that our blessed Saviour appointed bishops over churches."^c

Indeed the Gnostics spake evil of this order; for they are noted by three Apostles, St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. Jude, to be despisers of government, and to speak evil of dignities; and what government it was they did so despise we may understand by the words of St. Jude; they were ἐν τῇ ἀντιλογίᾳ τοῦ Κορέ, in the contradiction or gainsaying of Corah, who with his company rose up against Aaron the high-priest; and excepting these, who were the vilest of men, no man, within the first three hundred years after Christ, opposed episcopacy. But when Constantine received the Church into his arms, he found it universally governed by bishops; and therefore no wise or good man professing to be a Christian, that is, to believe the Holy Catholic Church, can be content

^a In 1 Cor. xii. In Psalm xliv. Epist. 1. Simpronianum.

^b Epist. 65. ad Rogat.

^c Quæst. V. et N. T. q. 197.

to quit the Apostolical government, (that by which the whole family of God was fed, and taught, and ruled,) and beget to himself new fathers and new Apostles, who, by wanting succession from the Apostles of our Lord, have no ecclesiastical and derivative communion with these fountains of our Saviour.

If ever Vincentius Lirinensis's rule could be used in any question, it is in this: *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*; that bishops are the successors of the Apostles in this stewardship, and that they did always rule the family, was taught and acknowledged always and every where, and by all men that were of the Church of God: and if these evidences be not sufficient to convince modest and sober persons in this question, we shall find our faith to fail in many other articles, of which we yet are very confident; for the observation of the Lord's day, the consecration of the holy Eucharist by priests, the baptizing infants, the communicating of women, and the very canon of the Scripture itself, rely but upon the same probation; and therefore the denying of articles thus proved is a way (I do not say, to bring in all sects and heresies, — that is but little) but a plain path and inlet to atheism and irreligion; for by this means it will not only be impossible to agree concerning the meaning of Scripture, but the Scripture itself, and all the records of religion, will become useless, and of no efficacy or persuasion.

I am entered into a sea of matter, but I will break it off abruptly, and sum up this inquiry with the words of the Council of Chalcedon, which is one of the four Generals, by our laws made the measure of judging

heresies: Ἐπίσκοπον εἰς πρεσβυτέρου βαθμὸν ἀναφέρειν, ἱεροσυλία ἐστίν. “It is sacrilege to bring back a bishop to the degree and order of a presbyter.” It is, indeed, a rifling the order, and entangling the gifts, and confounding the method of the Holy Ghost; it is a dishonouring them whom God would honour, and a robbing them of those spiritual eminences with which the Spirit of God does anoint the consecrated heads of bishops; and I shall say one thing more, which, indeed, is a great truth, that the diminution of episcopacy was first introduced by popery; and the popes of Rome, by communicating to abbots and other mere priests special graces, to exercise some essential offices of episcopacy, have made this sacred order to be cheap, and apt to be invaded. But then add this: If Simon Magus was in so damnable a condition for offering to buy the gifts and powers of the apostolical order, what shall we think of them that snatch them away, and pretend to wear them whether the Apostles and their successors will or no? This is ψεύσασθαι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, to belie the Holy Ghost; that is the least of it: it is rapine and sacrilege, besides the heresy and schism, and the spiritual lie; for the government episcopal, as it was exemplified in the Synagogue, and practised by the same measures in the Temple, so it was transcribed by the eternal Son of God, who translated it into a gospel ordinance; it was sanctified by the Holy Spirit, who named some of the persons, and gave to them all power and graces from above; it was subjected in the Apostles first, and by them transmitted to a distinct order of ecclesiastics; it was received into all churches, consigned in the

records of the Holy Scriptures, preached by the universal voice of all the Christian world, delivered by notorious and uninterrupted practice, and derived to further and unquestionable issue by perpetual succession.

I have done with the hardest part of the text, by finding out the persons intrusted, the stewards of Christ's family, which, though Christ only intimated in this place, yet he plainly enough manifested in others. The Apostles, and their successors the bishops, are the men intrusted with this great charge: God grant they may all discharge it well! And so I pass from the officers to a consideration of the office itself, in the next words: "Whom the Lord shall make ruler over his household, to give them their meat in due season."

2. The office itself is the stewardship, that is, episcopacy, the office of the bishop. The name signifies an office of the ruler indefinitely; but the word was chosen, and by the Church appropriated to those whom it now signifies, both because the word itself is a monition of duty, and also because the faithful were used to it in the days of Moses and the Prophets. The word is in the prophecy of the Church, "I will give to thee princes in peace," καὶ ἐπισκόπους ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, "and bishops in righteousness^a;" upon which place St. Hierom says, *Principes Ecclesiæ vocat futuros Episcopos*: "The Spirit of God calls them who were to be Christian bishops, *principes*, or chief rulers." And this was no new thing; for the chief of the priests who were set over the rest,

^a Isa. lx. 17. Hunc locum etiam citat S. Clement. Ep. ad Cor.

are called bishops by all the Hellenist Jews. Thus Joel is called ἐπίσκοπος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, "the bishop over the priests^a;" and the son of Bani, ἐπίσκοπος Λευϊτῶν, "the bishop and visitor over the Levites;" and we find, at the purging of the land from idolatry, the high-priest placed ἐπισκόπους εἰς οἶκον Κυρίου, "bishops over the house of God."^b Nay, it was the appellative of the high-priest himself: Ἐπίσκοπος Ἐλεάζαρ, "Bishop Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, to whom is committed the care of lamps, and the daily sacrifice, and the holy unction."^c

Now this word the Church retained, choosing the same name to her superior ministers, because of the likeness of the ecclesiastical government between the Old and New Testament.

For Christ made no change but what was necessary. Baptism was a rite among the Jews, and the Lord's Supper was but the *post-cœnium* of the Hebrews, changed into a mystery, from a type to a more real exhibition; and the Lord's prayer was a collection of the most eminent devotions of the prophets and holy men before Christ, who prayed by the same Spirit; and the censures ecclesiastical were but an imitation of the proceedings of the Judaical tribunals; and the whole religion was but the law of Moses drawn out of its veil into clarity and manifestation; and to conclude, in order to the present affair, the government which Christ left was the same as he found it; for what Aaron and his sons and the Levites were in the Temple, that bishops, priests, and deacons are in the Church. It

^a Neh. xi. 9.^b 2 Kings, xi. 18.^c Numb. iv. 16.

is affirmed by St. Hierom more than once; and the use he makes of it is this: *Esto subjectus Pontifici tuo, et quasi animæ parentem suscipe*^a: “Obey your bishop, and receive him as the nursing father of your soul.” But, above all, this appellation is made honourable by being taken by our blessed Lord himself; for he is called in Scripture “the great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls.”

But our inquiry is not after the name, but the office, and the dignity and duty of it. *Ecclesiæ gubernandæ sublimis ac divina potestas*, (so St. Cyprian calls it), a high and a divine power from God of governing the Church; *rem magnam et preciosam in conspectu Domini*, (so St. Cyril), a great and precious thing in the sight of God; τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐκταίων ὄρον, by Isidore Pelusiot, the utmost limit of what is desirable among men: but the account upon which it is so desirable is the same also that makes it formidable. They who have tried it, and did it conscientiously, have found the burden so great, as to make them stoop with care and labour; and they who do it ignorantly or carelessly, will find it will break their bones: for the bishop’s office is all that duty which can be signified by those excellent words of St. Cyprian: “He is a bishop or overseer of the brotherhood, the ruler of the people, the shepherd of the flock, the governor of the Church, the minister of Christ, and the priest of God.” These are great titles, and yet less than what is said of them in Scripture, which calls them “salt of the earth,” “lights upon a candlestick,” “stars and angels,” “fathers

^a Epist. 2. ad Nepot. Epist. ad Evagrium.

of our faith," "ambassadors of God," "dispensers of the mysteries of God," the "Apostles of the Churches, and the glory of Christ." But, then, they are great burdens to; for the bishop is *πεπιστευμένος τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Κυρίου*, intrusted with the Lord's people; that is a great charge, but there is a worse matter that follows: *καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν λόγον ἀπαιτηθόσμενος*: the bishop is he of whom God will require "an account for all their souls:" they are the words of St. Paul^a, and transcribed into the 40th Canon of the Apostles, and the 24th Canon of the Council of Antioch.

And now I hope the envy is taken off; for the honour does not pay for the burden; and we can no sooner consider episcopacy in its dignity, as it is a rule; but the very nature of that rule does imply so severe a duty, that, as the load of it is almost insufferable, so the event of it is very formidable, if we take not great care. For this stewardship is *κυριότης καὶ διακονία*, a principality and a ministry. So it was in Christ; he is Lord of all, and yet he was the servant of all: so it was in the Apostles, it was *κλήρος διακονίας καὶ ἀποστολῆς*^b, their lot was to be Apostles, and yet to serve and minister; and it is remarkable that, in Isaiah^c, the Seventy use the word *ἐπίσκοπος*, or bishop; but there they use it for the Hebrew word *nechosheth*, which the Greeks usually render by *ἐργοδιώκτης*, *φορολόγος*, *πράκτωρ*, and the interlineary translation by *exactores*. Bishops are only God's ministers and tribute-gatherers, requiring and overseeing them that they do their duty; and therefore here the case is so, and the burden so

^a Heb. xiii. 17.^b Acts, i. 25.^c Isai. lx. 17.

great, and the dignity so allayed, that the envious man hath no reason to be troubled that his brother hath so great a load; nor the proud man plainly to be delighted with so honourable a danger. It is indeed a rule, but it is paternal; it is a government, but it must be neither *ἀναγκαστικὸν* nor *αἰσχροκερδὲς*^a: it is neither a power to constrain, nor a commission to get wealth; for it must be without necessity, and not for filthy lucre sake; but it is a rule, *ὡς διακονοῦντος*; so St. Luke^b, “as of him that ministers;” *ὡς πάντων δούλου*, so St. Mark^c, “as of him that is servant of all;” *ὡς πόδας νίπτοντος*, so St. John^d; such a principality as he hath “that washes the feet” of the weary traveller; or, if you please, take it in the words of our blessed Lord himself, that “he that will be chief among you, let him be your minister;” meaning, that if, under Christ’s kingdom, you desire rule, possibly you may have it; but all that rule under him are servants to them that are ruled; and therefore you get nothing by it but a great labour and a busy employment, a careful life, and a necessity of making severe accounts. But all this is nothing but the general measures; I cannot be useful or understood unless I be more particular. The particulars we shall best enumerate by recounting those great conjugations of worthy offices and actions by which Christian bishops have blessed and built up Christendom; for, because we must be followers of them as they were of Christ, the recounting what they did worthily in their generations, will not only demonstrate how useful, how profitable,

^a 1 Pet. v. 1, 5.^c Mark, x. 43.^b Luke, xxii. 27.^d John, xiii. 13.

how necessary episcopacy is to the Christian Church, but it will at the same time teach us our duty, by what services we are to benefit the Church, in what works we are to be employed, and how to give an account of our stewardship with joy.

1. The Christian Church was founded by bishops, not only because the Apostles, who were bishops, were the first preachers of the Gospel, and planters of churches, but because the apostolical men, whom the Apostles used in planting and disseminating religion, were, by all antiquity, affirmed to have been diocesan bishops; insomuch that, as St. Epiphanius^a witnesses, there were at the first disseminations of the faith of Christ, many churches who had in them no other clergy but a bishop and his deacons, and the presbyters were brought in afterwards as the harvest grew greater. But the bishops' names are known, they are recorded in the Book of Life, and their praise is in the Gospel; such were Timothy and Titus, Clemens and Linus, Marcus and Dionysius, Onesimus and Caius, Epaphroditus and St. James our Lord's brother, Evodius and Simeon; all which, if there be any faith in Christians that gave their lives for a testimony to the faith, and any truth in their stories, and unless we who believe Thucydides and Plutarch, Livy and Tacitus, think that all Church story is a perpetual romance, and that all the brave men, the martyrs and the doctors of the primitive Church, did conspire as one man to abuse all Christendom for ever;—I say, unless all these impossible suppositions be admitted, all these whom I have now reckoned

^a Lib. 3. tit. i.

were bishops fixed in several churches, and had dioceses for their charges.

The consequent of this consideration is this: if bishops were those upon whose ministry Christ founded and built his Church, let us consider what great wisdom is required of them that seem to be pillars. The stewards of Christ's family must be wise; that Christ requires: and if the order be necessary to the Church, wisdom cannot but be necessary to the order; for it is a shame if they who by their office are fathers in Christ, shall by their unskilfulness be but babes themselves, understanding not the secrets of religion, the mysteries of godliness, the perfections of the evangelical law, all the advantages and disadvantages in the spiritual life. A bishop must be exercised in godliness, a man of great experience in the secret conduct of souls, not satisfied with an ordinary skill in making homilies to the people, and speaking common exhortations in ordinary cases, but ready to answer in all secret inquiries, and able to convince the gainsayers, and "to speak wisdom amongst them that are perfect."

If the first bishops laid the foundation, their successors must not only preserve whatsoever is fundamental, but build up the Church in a most holy faith, taking care that no heresy sap the foundation, and that no hay or rotten wood be built upon it; and, above all things, that a most holy life be superstructed upon a holy and unprovable faith. So the Apostles laid the foundation and built the walls of the Church, and their successors must raise up the roof as high as heaven. For, let us talk and dispute eternally, we shall never compose the

controversies in religion, and establish truth upon unalterable foundations, as long as men “handle the word of God deceitfully,” that is, with designs and little artifices, and secular partialities; and they will for ever do so as long as they are proud or covetous. It is not the difficulty of our questions, or the subtlety of our adversaries, that makes disputes interminable; but we shall never cure the itch of disputing, or establish unity, unless we apply ourselves to humility and contempt of riches. If we will be contending, let us contend like the olive and the vine, who shall produce best and most fruit; not like the aspin and the elm, which shall make most noise in a wind. And all other methods are a beginning at a wrong end. And as for the people, the way to make them conformable to the wise and holy rules of faith and government is by reducing them to live good lives. When the children of Israel gave themselves to gluttony and drunkenness, and filthy lusts, they quickly fell into abominable idolatries; and St. Paul says, that men make shipwreck of their faith by putting away a good conscience,^a for the mystery of faith is best preserved *ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει*, in a pure conscience, saith the same Apostle: secure but that, and we shall quickly end our disputes, and have an obedient and conformable people; but else, never.

2. As bishops were the first fathers of churches, and gave them being, so they preserve them in being; for without sacraments there is no church, or it will be starved and die; and without bishops there can be no priests, and, consequently, no sacraments; and that

^a 1 Tim. i. 19.

must needs be a supreme order from whence ordination itself proceeds. For it is evident and notorious, that in Scripture there is no record of ordination, but an apostolical hand was in it, one of the *ἄνδρες ἡγούμενοι*, one of the chief, one of the superior and ruling clergy; and it is as certain, in the descending ages of the Church, the bishop always had that power, it was never denied to him, and it was never imputed to presbyters; and St. Hierom himself, when, out of his anger against John, bishop of Jerusalem, he endeavoured to equal the presbyter with the bishop, though in very many places he spake otherwise, yet even then also, and in that heat, he excepted ordination, acknowledging that to be the bishop's peculiar. And therefore they who go about to extinguish episcopacy do as Julian did; they destroy the presbytery and starve the flock, and take away their shepherds, and dispark their pastures, and tempt God's providence to extraordinaries, and put the people to hard shifts, and turn the channels of salvation quite another way, and leave the Church to a perpetual uncertainty, whether she be alive or dead, and the people destitute of the life of their souls, and their daily bread, and their spiritual comforts and holy blessings.

The consequent of this is, if sacraments depend upon bishops, then let us take care that we convey to the people holy and pure material, sanctified with a holy ministry, and ministered by holy persons; for although it be true that the efficacy of the sacraments does not depend wholly upon the worthiness of him that ministers, yet it is as true that it does not wholly rely upon the worthiness of the receiver, but both together rely-

ing upon the goodness of God, produce all those blessings which are designed. The minister hath an influence into the effect, and does very much towards it; and if there be a failure there, it is a defect in one of the concurring causes; and therefore an unholy bishop is a great diminution to the people's blessing. St. Hierom^a presses this severely : *Impiè faciunt*, &c. "They do wickedly who affirm that the holy Eucharist is consecrated by the words (alone) and solemn prayer of the consecrator, and not also by his life and holiness." And therefore St. Cyprian^b affirms, that none but holy and upright men are to be chosen, who, offering their sacrifices worthily to God, may be heard in their prayers for the Lord's people : but for others, *sacrificia eorum, panis luctûs*, saith the prophet Hosea; their sacrifices are like the bread of sorrow, whoever eats thereof shall be defiled.

This discourse is not mine, but St. Cyprian's; and although his words are not to be understood dogmatically, but in the case of duty and caution; yet we may lay our hands upon our hearts, and consider how we shall give an account of our stewardship if we shall offer to the people the bread of God with impure hands: it is of itself a pure nourishment, but if it passes through an unclean vessel, it loses much of its excellency.

3. The like also is to be said concerning prayer; for the episcopal order is appointed by God to be the great ministers of Christ's priesthood; that is, to stand between Christ and the people in the intercourse of

^a In Zeph. ii.

^b Lib. 1. epist. 4.

prayer and blessing. "We will give ourselves continually to prayer," said the Apostles; that was the one half of their employment; and, indeed, a bishop should spend very much of his time in holy prayer, and in diverting God's judgments, and procuring blessings to the people; for in all times the chief of the religion was ever the chief minister of blessing. Thus Abraham blessed Abimelech, and Melchisedec blessed Abraham, and Aaron blessed the people; and "without all controversy," saith the Apostle, "the less is blessed of the greater." But then "we know that God heareth not sinners;" and it must be "the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man" that shall prevail.

And therefore we may easily consider that a vicious prelate is a great calamity to that flock which he is appointed to bless and pray for. How shall he reconcile the penitents who is himself at enmity with God? How shall the Holy Spirit of God descend upon the symbols at his prayer who does perpetually grieve him, and quench his holy fires, and drive him quite away? How shall he that hath not tasted of the Spirit by contemplation stir up others to earnest desires of celestial things? Or what good shall the people receive when the bishop lays upon their head a covetous or a cruel, an unjust or an impure hand? But therefore, that I may use the words of St. Hierom^a, *Cum ab Episcopo gratia in populum transfundatur, et mundi totius et Ecclesiæ totius condimentum sit Episcopus*, &c. Since it is intended that from the bishop grace should be diffused amongst all the people, there is not in the world

^a Dial. adv. Lucifer.

a greater indecency than a holy office ministered by an unholy person, and no greater injury to the people than that of the blessings which God sends to them by the ministries evangelical they should be cheated and defrauded by a wicked steward. And therefore it was an excellent prayer which to this very purpose was by the son of Sirach made in behalf of the high-priests the sons of Aaron: "God give you wisdom in your heart to judge his people in righteousness, that their good things be not abolished, and that their glory may endure for ever."^a

4. All the offices ecclesiastical always were and ought to be conducted by the episcopal order, as is evident in the universal doctrine and practice of the primitive Church: οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ἐπιτελείτωσαν.^b It is the 40th canon of the Apostles, "Let the presbyters and deacons do nothing without leave of the bishop:" but that case is known.

The consequent of this consideration is no other than the admonition in my text: "We are stewards of the manifold grace of God, and dispensers of the mysteries of the kingdom;" and "it is required of stewards that they be found faithful;" that we "preach the word of God in season and out of season," that we "rebuke and exhort, admonish and correct:" for these God calls *pastores secundum cor meum*, "pastors according to his own heart, which feed the people with knowledge and understanding^d;" but they must also "comfort the afflicted, and bind up the broken heart;" minister the

^a Eccclus. xlv. 26.

^c 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2.

^b Et 24. C. Concil. Antioch.

^d Jer. iii. 15.

sacraments with great diligence, and righteous measures, and abundant charity, always having in mind those passionate words of Christ to St. Peter: "If thou lovest me, feed my sheep; if thou hast any love to me, feed my lambs."

And let us remember this also, that nothing can enforce the people to obey their bishops as they ought, but our doing that duty and charity to them which God requires. There is reason in these words of St. Chrysostom: "It is necessary that the Church should adhere to their bishop as the body to the head, as plants to their roots, as rivers to their springs, as children to their fathers, as disciples to their masters." These similitudes express not only the relation and dependency, but they tell us the reason of the duty: the head gives light and reason to conduct the body; the roots give nourishment to the plants, and the springs perpetual emanation of waters to the channels; fathers teach and feed their children; and disciples receive wise instructions from their masters: and if we be all this to the people, they will be all that to us; and wisdom will compel them to submit, and our humility will teach them obedience, and our charity will invite their compliance; our good example will provoke them to good works, and our meekness will melt them into softness and flexibility: for all the Lord's people are *populus voluntarius*, a free and willing people; and we, who cannot compel their bodies, must thus constrain their souls, by inviting their wills, by convincing their understandings, by the beauty of fair example, the efficacy and holiness, and the demonstrations of the Spirit.

This is *experimentum ejus qui in nobis loquitur Christus*, the experiment of Christ that speaketh in us: for to this purpose those are excellent words which St. Paul spake: "Remember them who have the rule over you, whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation."^a There lies the demonstration; and those prelates who teach good life, whose sermons are the measures of Christ, and whose life is a copy of their sermons, these must be followed, and surely these will; for these are "burning and shining lights:" but if we hold forth false fires, and by the amusement of evil examples call the vessels that sail upon a dangerous sea to come upon a rock, or an iron shore instead of a safe harbour, we cause them to make shipwreck of their precious faith, and to perish in the deceitful and unstable waters.

Vox operum fortius sonat quàm verborum: a good life is the strongest argument that your faith is good, and a gentle voice will be sooner entertained than a voice of thunder; but the greatest eloquence in the world is a meek spirit, and a liberal hand; these are the two pastoral staves the prophet speaks of^b, *nognam* and *hovelim*, "beauty and bands:" he that hath the staff of the beauty of holiness, the ornament of fair example, he hath also the staff of bands, *atque in funiculis Adam trahet eos, in vinculis charitatis*, as the prophet Hosea's expression is^c, he shall draw the people after him "by the cords of a man," by the bands of a holy charity. But if against all these demonstrations any man will be refractory, we have instead of a staff an apostolical rod, which is the

^a Heb. xiii. 7.^b Zech. xi. 7.^c Chap. xi. 4.

last and latest remedy, and either brings to repentance, or consigns to ruin and reprobation.

If there were any time remaining, I could reckon that the episcopal order is the principle of unity in the Church; and we see it is so by the innumerable sects that sprang up when episcopacy was persecuted. I could add, how that bishops were the cause that St. John wrote his Gospel; that the Christian faith was for three hundred years together bravely defended by the sufferings, the prisons and flames, the life and the death of bishops, as the principal combatants; that the fathers of the Church, whose writings are held in so great veneration in all the Christian world, were almost all of them bishops. I could add, that the reformation of religion in England was principally by the preachings and the disputings, the writings and the martyrdom of bishops; that bishops have ever since been the greatest defensatives against popery; that England and Ireland were governed by bishops ever since they were Christian, and under their conduct have for so many ages enjoyed all the blessings of the Gospel. I could add also, that episcopacy is the great stabiliment of monarchy; but of this we are convinced by a sad and too dear-bought experience: I could therefore instead of it say, that episcopacy is the great ornament of religion; that as it rescues the clergy from contempt, so it is the greatest preservative of the people's liberty from ecclesiastic tyranny on one hand (the gentry being little better than servants while they live under the Presbytery,) and anarchy and licentiousness on the other; that it endears obedience, and is subject to the laws of

princes, and is wholly ordained for the good of mankind, and the benefit of souls. But I cannot stay to number all the blessings which have entered into the world at this door: I only remark these because they describe unto us the bishop's employment, which is, to be busy in the service of souls, to do good in all capacities, to serve every man's need, to promote all public benefits, to cement governments, to establish peace, to propagate the kingdom of Christ, to do hurt to no man, to do good to every man; this is, so to minister, that religion and charity, public peace and private blessings, may be in their exaltation.

As long as it was thus done by the primitive bishops, the princes and the people gave them all honour; inso-much that by a decree of Constantine the Great, the bishop had power given him to retract the sentences made by the presidents of provinces: and we find in the Acts of St. Nicholas, that he rescued some innocent persons from death when the executioner was ready to strike the fatal blow; which thing, even when it fell into inconvenience, was indeed forbidden by Arcadius and Honorius; but the confidence and honour was only changed, it was not taken away; for the condemned criminal had leave to appeal to the *audientia episcopalis*, to the bishop's court. This was not any right which the bishops could challenge, but a reward of their piety; and so long as the holy office was holily administered, the world found so much comfort and security, so much justice and mercy, so many temporal and spiritual blessings consequent to the ministries of that order, that, as the Galatians to St. Paul, men have

plucked out their eyes to do them service, and to do them honour: for then episcopacy did that good that God intended by it; it was a spiritual government, by spiritual persons, for spiritual ends: then the princes and the people gave them honours, because they deserved and sought them not; then they gave them wealth, because they would dispend it wisely, frugally, and charitably; then they gave them power, because it was sure to be used for the defence of the innocent, for the relief of the oppressed, for the punishment of evil doers, and the reward of the virtuous; then they desired to be judged by them, because their audiences or courts did ἡσυχάζειν τὸ βαρβαρικὸν, they appeased all furious sentences, and taught gentle principles, and gave merciful measures, and in their courts were all equity and piety, and Christian determinations.

But afterwards, when they did fall εἰς δυναστείαν, into secular methods, and made their counsels vain by pride, and dirtied their sentences with money, then they became like other men; and so it will be, unless the bishop be more holy than other men: but when our sanctity and severity shall be as eminent as the calling is, then we shall be called to councils, and sit in public meetings, and bring comfort to private families, and rule in the hearts of men by a *jus relationis*, such as was between the Roman emperors and the senate; they courted one another into power, and in giving honour strived to outdo each other; for from an humble wise man no man will snatch an employment that is honourable; but from the proud and from the covetous every man endeavours to wrest it, and thinks it lawful prize.

My time is now done ; and therefore I cannot speak to the third part of my text, the reward of the good steward and of the bad ; I shall only mention it to you in a short exhortation, and so conclude. In the primitive Church, a bishop was never admitted to public penance ; not only because in them every crime is ten, and he that could discern a public shame could not deserve a public honour ; nor yet only because every such punishment was scandalous, and did more evil by the example of the crime, than it could do good by the example of the punishment ; but also because no spiritual power is higher than the episcopal, and therefore they were to be referred to the Divine judgment, which was likely to fall on them very heavily : διχοτομήσει ἄχρηστον ὁ Κύριος· the Lord will cut the evil stewards asunder ; he will suffer schisms and divisions to enter in upon us, and that will sadly cut us asunder ; but the evil also shall fall upon their persons, like the punishment of quartering traitors, ἵνα καί σε διαμελεῖστί ταμήσῃ, punishment with the circumstances of detestation and exemplarity. Consider, therefore, what is your great duty ; consider what is your great danger. The lines of duty I have already described : only remember how dear and precious souls are to God ; since, for their salvation, Christ gave his blood, and therefore will not easily lose them, whom, though they had sinned against him, yet he so highly valued : remember that you are Christ's deputies in the care of souls, and that you succeed in the place of the Apostles. *Non est facile stare loco Pauli, et tenere gradum Petri* : You have undertaken the work of St. Paul, and the office of St.

Peter ; and what, think you, upon this account, will be required of us ? St. Hierom expresses it thus : “ The wisdom and skill of a bishop ought to be so great, that his countenance, his gesture, his motion, every thing should be vocal, *ut quicquid agit, quicquid loquitur, doctrina sit Apostolorum* : that whatever he does or speaks be doctrine Apostolical. The ancient fathers had a pious opinion, that besides the angel guardian which is appointed to the guard of every man, there is to every bishop a second angel appointed to him at the consecration ; and to this Origen alludes, saying that every bishopric hath two angels, the one visible and the other invisible. This is a great matter, and shows what a precious thing that order and those persons are in the eyes of God ; but then this also means that we should live angelic lives, which the Church rarely well expresses by saying that episcopal dignity is the ecclesiastic state of perfection, and supposes the persons to be so far advanced in holiness as to be in the state of confirmation in grace. But I shall say nothing of these things, because it may be they press too hard ; but the use I shall make of it upon occasion of the reward of the good and bad steward, is to remind you of your great danger. For if it be required of bishops to be so wise and so holy, so industrious and so careful, so busy and so good up to the height of best examples ; if they be anointed of the Lord, and are the husbands of the churches ; if they be the shepherds of the flock, and stewards of the household ; it is very fit they consider their danger, that they may be careful to do their duty. St. Bernard considers it well in his Epistle to Henry, Archbishop

of Sens: "If I, lying in my cell, and smoking under a bushel, not shining, yet cannot avoid the breath of the winds, but that my light is almost blown out; what will become of my candle, if it were placed on a candlestick and set upon a hill? I am to look to myself alone, and provide for my own salvation; and yet I offend myself, I am weary of myself, I am my own scandal and my own danger; my own eye, and mine own belly, and my own appetite find me work enough; and therefore God help them who, besides themselves, are answerable for many others." Jacob kept the sheep of Laban; and we keep the sheep of Christ; and Jacob was to answer for every sheep that was stolen, and every lamb that was torn by the wild beast; and so shall we too, if by our fault one of Christ's sheep perish: and yet it may be there are a hundred thousand souls committed to the care and conduct of some one shepherd, who yet will find his own soul work enough for all his care and watchfulness. If any man should desire me to carry a frigate into the Indies, in which a hundred men were embarked, I were a madman to undertake the charge without proportionable skill; and therefore, when there is more danger, and more souls, and rougher seas, and more secret rocks, and horrible storms, and the shipwreck is an eternal loss, the matter will then require great consideration in the undertaking, and greatest care in the conduct.

Upon this account we find many brave persons, in the first and in the middle ages of the Church, with great resolution refusing episcopacy. I will not speak of those who for fear of martyrdom declined it, but those

who for fear of damnation did refuse. St. Bernard was by three rich cities severally called to be their bishop, and by two to be their archbishop, and he refused them. St. Dominicus refused four successively; St. Thomas Aquinas refused the Archbishopric of Naples, and Vincentius Ferrerius would not accept of Valentia or Ilerda; and Bernardinus Senensis refused the Bishoprics of Sens, Urbin, and Ferrara. They had reason; and yet if they had done amiss in that office which they declined, it had been something more excusable; but if they that seek it be as careless in the office as they are greedy of the honour, that will be found intolerable. *Electus Episcopus ambulat in disco, recusans volvitur in areâ*, said the hermit in St. Hierom, "The bishop walks upon round and trundling stones, but he that refuses it stands upon a floor." But I shall say no more of it, because I suppose you have read it and considered it in St. Chrysostom's six books *De Sacerdotio*, in the Apologetic of St. Gregory Nazianzen, in the Pastoral of St. Gregory of Rome, in St. Dionysius's Eighth Epistle to Demophilus, in the Letters of Epiphanius to St. Hierom, in St. Austin's Epistle to Bishop Valerius, in St. Bernard's Life of St. Malachy, in St. Hierom's 138th Epistle to Fabiola. These things I am sure you could not read without trembling; and certainly, if it can belong to any Christian, then "work out your salvation with fear and trembling," that is the bishop's burden. For the bishop is like a man that is surety for his friend; he is bound for many and for great sums. What is to be done in this case? Solomon's answer is the way: "Do this now, my son, deliver thyself; make sure thy

friend: give not sleep to thine eyes, nor slumber to thine eye-lids^a;" that is, be sedulous to discharge thy trust, to perform thy charge; be zealous for souls, and careless of money: and remember this, that even in Christ's family there was one sad example of an apostate Apostle; and he fell into that fearful estate merely by the desire and greediness of money. Be warm in zeal, and indifferent in thy temporalities; for he that is zealous in temporals and cold in the spiritual; he that doth the accessories of his calling by himself, and the principal by his deputies; he that is present at the feast of sheep-shearing, and puts others to feed the flock, hath no sign at all upon him of a good shepherd. "It is not fit for us to leave the word of God, and to serve tables," said the Apostles. And if it be a less worthy office to serve the tables, even of the poor, to the diminution of our care in the dispensation of God's word, it must needs be an unworthy employment to leave the word of God and to attend the rich and superfluous furniture of our own tables. Remember the quality of your charges. *Civitas est, vigilate ad custodiam et concordiam; sponsa est, studete amari; oves sunt, intendite pastui.*^b The Church is a spouse; the universal Church is Christ's spouse, but your own diocese is yours; behave yourselves so that ye be beloved: your people are as sheep, and they must be fed, and guided, and preserved, and healed, and brought home: the Church is a city, and you are the watchmen; take care that the city be kept at unity in itself; be sure to make peace amongst your people; suffer no hatreds, no quar-

^a Prov. vi. 3, 4.^b St. Bernard. ad Henr. Episc. Senensem.

rels; no suits at law amongst the citizens, which you can avoid: make peace in your dioceses by all the ways of prudence, piety, and authority that you can; and let not your own corrections of criminals be to any purpose but for their amendment; for the cure of offenders as long as there is hope, and for the security of those who are sound and whole. Preach often and pray continually; let your discipline be with charity and your censures slow; let not excommunications pass for trifles, and drive not away the fly from your brother's forehead with a hatchet; give counsel frequently, and dispensations seldom, but never without necessity or great charity; let every place in your diocese say, *Invenerunt me vigiles*, "The watchmen have found me out," *hasso-velim*; "they that walk the city round have sought me out and found me." "Let every one of us," as St. Paul's expression is^a, "show himself a workman that shall not be ashamed;" *operarium inconfusibilem*, mark that; such a labourer as shall not be put to shame for his illness or his unskilfulness, his falseness and unfaithfulness, in that day when the great Bishop of souls shall make his last and dreadful visitation: for, be sure, there is not a carcass, nor a skin, nor a lock of wool, nor a drop of milk of the whole flock, but God shall for it call the idle shepherd to a severe account: and how, think you, will his anger burn, when he shall see so many goats standing at his left hand, and so few sheep at his right, and upon inquiry shall find that his ministering shepherds were wolves in sheep's clothing, and that by their ill example or pernicious doctrines, their care of money

^a 2 Tim. ii. 15.

and carelessness of their flocks, so many souls perish; who, if they had been carefully and tenderly, wisely and conscientiously handled, might have shined as bright as angels? And it is a sad consideration to remember how many souls are pitifully handled in this world, and carelessly dismissed out of this world: they are left to live at their own rate; and when they are sick they are bidden to be of good comfort, and then all is well; who when they are dead, find themselves cheated of their precious and invaluable eternity. Oh, how will those souls in their eternal prisons for ever curse those evil and false guides! And how will those evil guides themselves abide in judgment, when the angels of wrath snatch their abused people into everlasting torments? For will God bless them, or pardon them, by whom so many souls perish? Shall they reign with Christ who evacuate the death of Christ, and make it useless to dear souls? Shall they partake of Christ's glories, by whom it comes to pass that there is less joy in heaven itself, even because sinners are not converted, and God is not glorified, and the people is not instructed, and the kingdom of God is not filled? Oh no: the curses of a false prophet will fall upon them, and the reward of the evil steward will be their portion; and they who destroyed the sheep, or neglected them, shall have their portion with goats for ever and ever in everlasting burnings, in which it is impossible for a man to dwell.

Can any thing be beyond this, — beyond damnation? Surely, a man would think, not: and yet I remember a severe saying of St. Gregory, *Scire debent Prelati, quod tot mortibus digni sunt, quot perditionis exempla ad sub-*

ditos extenderunt: “ One damnation is not enough for an evil shepherd; but for every soul who dies by his evil example or pernicious carelessness, he deserves a new death, a new damnation.” Let us therefore be wise and faithful, walk warily, and watch carefully, and rule diligently, and pray assiduously; for God is more propense to rewards than to punishments; and the good steward, that is wise and faithful in his dispensation, shall be greatly blessed: but how? “ He shall be made ruler over the household.” What is that? for he is so already. True; but he shall be much more: *Ex dispensatore faciet procuratorem*. God will treat him as Joseph was treated by his master: he was first a steward, and then a procurator, one that ruled his goods without account and without restraint. Our ministry shall pass into empire, our labour into rest, our watchfulness into fruition, and our bishopric to a kingdom. In the mean time, our bishoprics are a great and weighty care; and, in a spiritual sense, our dominion is founded in grace, and our rule is in the hearts of the people, and our strengths are the powers of the Holy Ghost, and the weapons of our warfare are spiritual; and the eye of God watches over us curiously, to see if we watch over our flocks by day and by night. And though the primitive Church (as the ecclesiastic histories observe), when they deposed a bishop from his office, ever concealed his crime, and made no record of it; yet remember this, that God does and will call us to a strict and severe account. Take heed, that you may never hear that fearful sentence, “ I was hungry, and ye gave me no meat.” If you suffer Christ’s little ones to starve,

it will be required severely at your hands. And know this, that the time will quickly come in which God shall say unto thee, in the words of the prophet, “Where is the flock that was given thee, thy beautiful flock? What wilt thou say, when he shall visit thee?”^a

God of his mercy grant unto us all to be so faithful and so wise as to convert souls, and to be so blessed and so assisted, that we may give an account of our charges with joy, to the glory of God, to the edification and security of our flocks, and the salvation of our own souls, in that day when the great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls shall come to judgment, even our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, love and obedience, now and for evermore. Amen.

^a Jer. xiii. 20, 21.

COMMON PRAYER.

COMMON PRAYERS ANCIENT, USEFUL, AND NECESSARY.

[BISHOP BULL.]

PRESCRIBED FORMS OF PRAYER IN THE PUBLIC WORSHIP OF GOD, PRACTISED FROM THE VERY BEGINNING OF CHRISTIANITY, AND ARE NOT ONLY ANCIENT, BUT USEFUL AND NECESSARY, UPON MANY ACCOUNTS.

1 TIM. ii. 1, 2.

I exhort therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings, and for all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.

ST. PAUL the Apostle had, in the foregoing chapter, given instructions to Bishop (or rather Archbishop) Timothy, concerning the regulation of preaching and preachers within his province, which was the proconsular Asia, of which Ephesus was the metropolis; for so we read chapter the first of this epistle^a: “As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine.” There were, it seems,

^a Verse 3.

some heterodox teachers within that province; and by the sequel it appears they were Judaizing doctors, who taught the observation of the Mosaic law, as necessary to Christians, such as the Cerinthians and others. For so we read^a, “The end of the commandment is charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned: from which some having swerved have turned aside unto vain janglings; desiring to be teachers of the law; understanding neither what they say, nor whereof they affirm.” Hence, in the following verses he shows, against those heterodox teachers, the right use of the law, and also sets forth the grace of the Gospel, which should be the principal subject of all gospel preaching.

Now, the Apostle having thus instructed Timothy as to the matter of preaching and preachers, he proceeds, in the next place, to give him farther orders, concerning other ecclesiastical matters; and first of all, and chiefly, concerning the public and common prayers of the Church, in the words of my text: “I exhort therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings, and all that are in authority; that we may live a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty:” *πρῶτον πάντων*, “first of all;” which words, as Estius well notes, are to be understood, not of a priority of time, but of dignity; in the same sense as our Saviour in the Gospel bids us “seek *πρῶτον*, first, the kingdom of God and his righteousness.”^b

Prayer is the principal and most noble part of God’s

^a Verse 5—7.

^b Matt. vi. 33.

worship, and to be preferred before preaching: nay, indeed, to speak strictly and properly, preaching is no part of divine worship; for every proper act of divine worship must have God for its immediate object, and God's glory for its immediate end. But the immediate object of preaching are men, to whom it is directed, and the immediate end of it is the instruction of men; though it is true, in the ultimate end of it, it tends to, and ends in, the glory of God, as indeed all religious actions do, and all our other actions of moment should do. But prayer is immediately directed to God himself, and it is an immediate glorification of him, and a paying of divine worship and honour to him. In a word, by preaching we are taught how to worship God; but prayer is itself God's worship. Hence the place of God's worship is styled by our Saviour *οἶκος προσευχῆς*, "the house of prayer."^b It is not called a "preaching house," though there must be preaching there, too, at due times and seasons, but a "house of prayer," because prayer is the principal worship of God, to which all religious houses are dedicated, and it is the constant and daily business to be performed in them. No wonder, therefore, that the Apostle charges Timothy to take a special care concerning the liturgy and public prayers of the Church, that they be duly and rightly performed: "I exhort therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made," &c.

The text is an order or injunction given by St. Paul to Timothy, a bishop of the Church, concerning the

^a Matt. xxi. 13.

public and common prayers to be used in the several churches and congregations under his care and jurisdiction. That Timothy was a bishop, and bishop of Ephesus, the metropolis or chief city of Asia, is so fully attested by all antiquity, that he must be either very ignorant or very shameless that shall deny it, especially there being besides very plain evidences of the episcopal power and authority wherewith he was invested, in this very epistle of St. Paul written to him. Such is that in the first chapter^a, already upon another account cited: "As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, that thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine." He had therefore a power invested in him of calling to account the presbyters and teachers within the diocese of Ephesus, concerning their preaching and doctrine; which is certainly a branch of episcopal power. We read, also, in the same epistle, that he was appointed as a judge of the presbyters of Ephesus, to hear and determine those cases that concerned them: "Against an elder" (or presbyter) "receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses."^b He had also the power of ordination, which, being added to the former, makes up the complete episcopal power and authority, as may be plainly gathered from the caution given him by St. Paul to use that power aright, ver. 22. of the but now mentioned chapter: "Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins: keep thyself pure."

To this public person, to this great bishop of the Church, is this charge given by St. Paul in my text:

^a Verse 3.

^b Chap. v. 19.

“I exhort therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men,” &c. He was to take care that such prayers should be made in all churches and congregations under his inspection and jurisdiction.

And how could he do this, but by providing, by his authority, that there should be set forms of prayer, framed according to this rule given him by the Apostle, to be used in those churches? Sure I am, the primitive Catholic Church understood this to be the meaning of the Apostle. Hence, in all the churches of Christ over the world, however distant from each other, we find set forms of public prayers, suited and conform to this direction of the Apostle. This was observed by the ancient author of the book concerning the calling of the Gentiles, attributed to Prosper, who, occasionally citing the words of my text, hath this note upon it: “This law and rule of prayer hath been so religiously and unanimously observed by all Christian priests and people, that there is no part or quarter of the world wherein there are not forms of prayer suited and agreeable to this pattern.”^a

And, indeed, if we consult all the ancient liturgies extant at this day, we shall find this observation to be most true; they are all framed and composed according to this rule of the Apostle.

And it is observable that, however those ancient liturgies have been altered and corrupted in after times

^a “Hanc legem supplicationis ita omnium sacerdotum et omnium fidelium devotio concorditer tenet, ut nulla pars mundi sit in quo hujusmodi orationes non celebrentur a populis Christianis.”

by many additions and interpolations, yet there are in all of them still remaining many excellent and divine forms of prayer and thanksgiving, wherein they do all perfectly agree, and which therefore cannot reasonably be thought to have any other original than apostolical order and appointment, delivered to the several nations and people, together with the first preaching and plantation of Christianity among them. Such, for example, is the *Sursum corda* in the Office of the Communion, the priest saying, “Lift up your hearts,” and the people answering, “We lift them up unto the Lord.” There is no liturgy in any Church of Christ to this day but hath this form. Such is the excellent form of thanksgiving in the same Office of the Communion, to be performed by the priest and people, the priest saying, “Let us give thanks unto our Lord God;” and the people answering, “It is meet and right so to do.” This form also is to be found in all the most ancient liturgies.

Such, also, is the doxology or glorification of the ever-blessed Trinity; “Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.” For they are much mistaken who think that this form was first set up in the Church of Christ against the Arian heresy: it was in use in the Churches of Christ from the beginning. Hence Justin Martyr, who lived very near to the apostolic age, in his second apology, towards the end, setting forth the public worship of Christians in his time, tells us^a, “In all our oblations” (*i. e.* in all

^a Ἐπὶ πάνσι τε οἷς προσφερόμεθα, εὐλογοῦμεν τὸν ποιητὴν τῶν πάντων διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ διὰ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου.

our eucharists) “we bless and praise the Maker of all things, by his Son Jesus Christ, and by the Holy Ghost.” And the Christians of Smyrna, in their Epistle to the Church of Philomelia (extant in Eusebius), concerning the martyrdom of Polycarp, the disciple of St. John the Apostle, of which they were eyewitnesses, tell us, that blessed martyr, in his last prayer at the stake, used this form^a: “I praise thee, I bless thee, I glorify thee, by the eternal High Priest Jesus Christ, thy beloved Son, by whom to thee, together with him, in the Holy Ghost, be glory now and for ever. Amen.” And the brethren of Smyrna themselves thus conclude their epistle: “We bid you farewell in our Lord Jesus^b, with whom be glory to God the Father and to the Holy Ghost.” Hence, in the Apostolical Constitutions, wherein we have certainly the best account of the primitive liturgy of the Eastern Churches, we find this full doxology^c: “To thee, O Father, and to thy Son Christ, our Lord, and God, and King; and to the Holy Ghost, be glory, praise, majesty, adoration, and worship, now and to eternal ages. Amen.” So that, if this form of doxology had an occasional original upon the account of any heresy that denied the faith of the holy Trinity, it was at first designed against the Cerinthians and Ebionites, who disturbed the Church of Christ in the very age of the Apostles, and denied the divinity of our Lord, and, consequently,

^a Σὲ αἰνῶ, σὲ εὐλογῶ, σὲ δοξάζω, &c.

^b Μεθ' οὗ δόξα τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ καὶ Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι.

^c Σοὶ δόξα, &c. viii. 15.

oppugned the doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity, no less than the Arians afterward did.

But the truth is, this doxology was not occasionally taken up in opposition to any heresy, but is an essential part of Christian worship, necessary to be used always by all Christians, if there had never been any heresy in the world. For all Christians are baptized in, or into, “the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,” *i. e.* into the faith, service, and worship of the holy Trinity, and so, from their very baptism, are obliged to render and give to each person divine worship and adoration. Indeed, this is the main difference between the worship of Christians and Jews: the Jews worship God as one single person, acknowledging neither Son, nor personal Holy Ghost, subsisting in the Divine Nature. But we Christians worship God in a trinity of persons and unity of essence: “God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God.”

I add to what hath been already observed, the consent of all the Christian churches in the world, however distant from each other, in the prayer of oblation of the Christian sacrifice in the holy Eucharist, or sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, which consent is indeed wonderful. All the ancient liturgies agree in this form of prayer, almost in the same words, but fully and exactly in the same sense, order, and method; which whosoever attentively considers, must be convinced that this order of prayer was delivered to the several churches in the very first plantation and settlement of them. Nay, it is observable that this form of

prayer is still retained in the very canon of the mass at this day used in the Church of Rome, though the form doth manifestly contradict and overthrow some of the principal articles of their new faith. For from this very form of prayer, still extant in their canon, a man may effectually refute those two main doctrines of their church, the doctrine of purgatory and that of transubstantiation, as I could clearly show you, if I had time, and this were a proper place for it. Thus, by a singular providence of God, that ancient, primitive, and apostolic form of prayer still remains in the liturgy of that church, as a convincing testimony against her latter innovations and corruptions of the Christian doctrine. But this by the way.

The same harmony and consent of the ancient liturgies is to be found in the Office of Baptism, where the person to be baptized is obliged first “to renounce the devil and all his works, the pomp and vanity of the world,” &c., and then to profess his faith in the Holy Trinity, “God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.” This form is to be found in the liturgies of all the churches of Christ throughout the world, almost in the very same words; and is therefore, doubtless, of primitive and apostolical original. They called the former part of this form *ἀπόταξις*, “the abrenunciation,” viz. of the devil, and all those idols wherein the devil was worshipped among the heathens. The latter part of the form was called *σύνταξις*, “the aggregation,” or joining of one’s self to the worship and service of the only true God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

Other instances of the like nature I could give you,

if the time would permit. But these, I think, are sufficient to show that there were set prescribed offices and forms of prayer and praise, and profession of faith, delivered to all the churches of Christ by the Apostles or their immediate successors; many of those forms (notwithstanding the manifold corruptions and depravations of the primitive liturgies in after times) being still retained, and unanimously used in all the churches of Christ to this day.

Indeed, the exercise of the public worship of God in set and prescribed forms of prayer hath been the practice of all settled churches of God, not only ever since Christianity, but also before our Saviour's coming into the world. All the learned know that the ancient Church of the Jews before Christ had set forms of prayer, which they used in their temple and synagogues, as also the Jews have at this day. And, indeed, many of those forms are very good and excellent, and have no other fault to be found in them but that they do not end as the prayers of us Christians do, "through Jesus Christ our Lord." Nay, it is very observable, that our Lord Christ himself, when he recommended to his disciples, upon their desire, a prayer to be used by them (that which we call "The Lord's Prayer"), he did not frame an entirely new prayer, in words of his own conception, but took out of the ancient euchologies or prayer books of the Jews, what was good and laudable in them, and out of them composed that prayer. The very preface of the Lord's Prayer, "Our Father, which art in heaven," was the usual preface of the Jewish prayers; and all the following petitions are to

be found, almost in the very same words, in their prayer books.

He that doubts of this, if he understands the learned languages, may be satisfied by consulting Drusius and Capellus, in their notes upon the sixth chapter of St. Matthew, the ninth and following verses. And the reflection of the learned Grotius upon this is very remarkable: "So far was the Lord himself of the Christian Church from all affectation of unnecessary novelty."^a Our Saviour, in this instance, hath plainly shown us what respect we ought to have for forms of prayer anciently received and approved by the Church of God. And, indeed, it were no difficult thing to show that many of the offices and forms of prayer, and other religious institutions received in the Church of Christ, are in their first original to be referred as due to the piety and devotion of the Church of God before the coming of Christ in the flesh; Christianity being no innovation, but only the perfection of the old religion; and it being the same Spirit of Christ that governed the Church of God both under the Old and New Testament.

You have seen what a mighty prescription we can plead for set and prescribed forms of prayer in the public worship of God. I add, that we have very strong reasons to back this prescription. Set and prescribed forms of prayer in the public worship of God are useful, yea, and necessary, upon many, but especially upon these following accounts.

^a "Tam longe abfuit ipse Dominus Ecclesiæ ab omni affectatione non necessariæ novitatis."

1. They are useful and necessary to obviate and prevent all extravagant levities, or worser impieties, in the public worship. If the prayers of the Church were left to the private conceptions or extemporaneous effusions of every minister of the Church, what a lamentable worship and service of God should we have in many congregations! We had sad experience of this in those days when our Liturgy was laid aside; what impertinences, what tautologies, what bold and familiar addresses to the Divine Majesty! what saucy expostulations with Almighty God! yea, what blasphemies were heard in the houses of God from the men of those times!

And it is observable, that those impertinences, yea, and impieties, were incident, not only to the meaner sort of the dissenters from our liturgy, but even to the principal men and chief leaders among them; of which I could give you some sad instances, but that I delight not to rake in that dunghill. Indeed the public prayers were in those days in many places so absurd and ridiculous, that by them religion itself was exposed to the scorn and contempt of the irreligious. And I am apt to think that from hence, as one main cause, first proceeded that irreligion and atheism which hath since overspread our sinful nation. For enthusiasm commonly leads the way to atheism, and a fanatic religion too often ends at last in no religion.

2. Set and prescribed forms of prayer are necessary in the public worship of God, that ministers less learned may have provision of devotions made for them. It is a true saying, "In every sort of men and professions

there are some vulgar and lesser men^a," the clergy itself not excepted, among whom (it is a truth not to be dissembled) the less learned have been, and I fear always will be, the greater number.

Now, it cannot by any considering man be thought reasonable or expedient that the solemn worship of God in the congregations over which they preside, especially the administration of the holy sacraments, should be intrusted to their discretion and abilities. Nay, I might add (what a great man hath well observed), that a prescribed liturgy may be as necessary for more learned ministers, that they may have no occasion of ostentation ministered to them, lest their best actions, their prayers, be turned into sin and vanity.

3. Set and prescribed forms of prayer in the public worship are necessary also for this end, that all the members of the Church may know the condition of public communion, and understand beforehand what prayers they are to join in, which they cannot do without a public and prescribed liturgy. If a man come into a congregation where the minister is left to pray as he pleases, he cannot immediately join with him in prayer unless he have an implicit, that is, a foolish faith and confidence in the person that prays; he cannot reasonably direct his devotion immediately to God, but must first take time to hearken and consider whether the prayers of the minister be such as he may safely and heartily join in; which great inconvenience is taken away by forms of prayer prepared and provided beforehand by the wisdom of the Church.

^a "Omne genus hominum habet suum vulgus."

4. And, lastly, prescribed prayers in the Church are necessary to secure the established doctrine and faith of the Church. If the ministers of the Church be left to themselves, to pray as they list, they will be very apt (and it will be very difficult for them to avoid it) to vent their own private opinions and notions in points of religion in their prayers; for men will pray as they think and believe, and all their doctrines will have a tincture of their private notions and conceptions, which may not be always sound and orthodox.

Heterodoxes, false doctrines, yea, and heresies, may be propagated by prayer as well as preaching, and by the former, perhaps, more effectually than by the latter. For when poor ignorant people shall hear their minister venting a notion in his address to Almighty God, they will be apt to conclude, and not without reason, that he is fully assured of the truth of it, yea, that he hath very good grounds for it, or else he would not dare to utter it to the face of God himself. And thus the confidence of the minister easily at first begets in the simple hearer a good opinion of it, which by degrees grows to a stedfast belief and persuasion.

But now, on the other side, set forms of prayer, composed and prescribed by the wisdom of the Church, are an excellent defence and security against innovations in faith. For to be sure the Church will take care that her Liturgy and Common Prayers shall not contradict or interfere with her Articles of Religion, but rather confirm them, and, by prudent methods, insinuate the knowledge and belief of them into the hearers. Indeed, the ancient liturgies were so framed,

that they were a kind of systems of orthodox divinity, and antidotes against heresy. And in this, the liturgy of our Church comes behind none of the ancient liturgies ; for therein we are obliged to confess the faith of all the ancient creeds. But, more especially, our frequent doxologies to the most holy and ever-blessed Trinity do abundantly secure us against Arianism and Socinianism, the prevailing heresies of our unhappy times, and of all other heresies the most dangerous. In short, no heretic can heartily join in the offices of prayer and praise, and confessions of faith, prescribed in the liturgy of our Church.

But, on the other side, in those congregations where there is no prescribed liturgy, or office of public prayer, no creed or confession of faith to be rehearsed, all sorts of heretics may easily, and without discovery, find shelter to themselves. Which is one and the main reason, I doubt not, why, at this day, the Arians and Socinians among us are all declared enemies to the public worship of the Church of England, as it is by law established, and shake hands with the dissenters. For they know full well, that as long as our liturgy stands, their heresies can never prevail ; all the members of our Church being obliged in their daily public devotions solemnly to declare against those heresies.

I shall conclude all with a word or two of application.

1. From what hath been said, we may take occasion, and we have very good ground and reason, to reprove the gross error and folly of those who are against all set and prescribed forms of prayer in the public worship

of God, and, upon the account of such forms used in our Church, separate from the communion of it.

These men must, upon the same account, have been separatists and schismatics, if they had lived in any other settled Church of Christ since the days of the Apostles. For you have seen that this order and injunction given to Bishop Timothy in my text, to take care and provide, by his authority, that “supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks should be made for all men,” in all the churches and congregations under his care and inspection, was observed by him and all the other bishops of the primitive Church, by causing such forms of prayer to be made and composed for the use of their several churches; and that, accordingly, the same order of the Apostle was observed after the same manner in the Catholic Church throughout all succeeding ages: the exercise of the public worship being never in any age of the Church (before this latter age of innovation) permitted and intrusted to the discretion and abilities of every private minister.

So that to those who cry up the private conceptions or extemporary effusions of their ministers, in opposition to set forms of prayer, prescribed by the wisdom of the Church, in the public worship of God, we may answer with the Apostle ^a, “We have no such custom, nor the churches of God.” And if this be not a good and satisfactory answer, they must be so daring as to say, that the great Apostle of Christ was mistaken in his logic, and argued from a wrong and fallacious topic.

And whereas they pretend they cannot edify by such

^a 1 Cor. xi. 16.

set forms of prayer, nor find any warmth of devotion in the use of them, they do thereby represent themselves under a very ill character; that they are men of a spirit and temper very disagreeable, and different from that spirit that hath always governed the Catholic Church of Christ. They cannot heartily serve and worship God in such a way as the primitive confessors and martyrs, and all good Christians for many succeeding ages did.

But I will not be so severe as to condemn all those as no good Christians who make this plea. I do not doubt but some of them are men of good intentions, and pious dispositions and affections; and if they had not been prejudiced and imposed upon by their deluding teachers, they would have been of another temper. But they have been taught by those deceivers, that prescribed forms of prayer are a stinting of the Spirit; their heads have been filled with harangues and discourses concerning the gift and spirit of prayer, which, they have been told, consists not only in pious and holy affections, but also in a variety and volubility of words and expressions; and consequently, that a set form of prayer and the spirit of prayer are inconsistent; which is in effect to say, that a man cannot make use of any of the penitential Psalms, nor any other forms of prayer or praise in the divine Book of Psalms, no, nor rehearse even the Lord's Prayer itself, with the spirit of prayer; which to affirm is the height of madness.

But, the poor souls labouring under this prejudice, it is no wonder if they flee from our liturgy, as from

a serpent or scorpion; no wonder that, when they are forced occasionally to be present at it, they are not at all affected with it; nay, on the contrary, find an aversation of their spirits from it.

Woe be to the men that have thus abused those poor souls, or rather those precious souls, for whom our Lord Christ died, and shed his most precious blood; that by such silly pretences have drawn them into schism, and a sinful separation from the communion of the best of churches.

But there are some of our dissenters that pretend that they are not against all set forms of prayer, nor do they dislike our Liturgy, merely as it is a set and prescribed form of prayer; but because there are some, yea, very many things in it, that are not agreeable to the word of God, and to which therefore they cannot assent. Now, to these men, all that I have at present to say is this: I will not be so lavish or extravagant in the praise of our liturgy as to say it is an absolutely perfect form of prayer, or so good as not to be capable, in some respects, to be made better; for this were in effect to say, it is more than a human composition: but this I do aver, that there is no passage in it but what admits of a fair and candid interpretation; that there is nothing in it directly sinful, or such as that upon the account thereof a man might justify his separation from the communion of our Church. This hath been again and again unanswerably proved by the learned men of our Church. And as to the main body of our liturgy, it is a most excellent office and form of prayer, most agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, that comes nearest to

the primitive liturgies; and, in a word, is the best liturgy at this day extant in the Christian world.

But, indeed, it is a mere pretence of our dissenters, when they say they are not against a set and prescribed form of prayer in the public worship, and that they only dislike some passages in our liturgy. For if this were true, why do they not in their congregations use our liturgy, omitting those passages in it, at which they pretend to be offended? Or, at least, why do they not compose a liturgy of their own? It is plain, therefore, and evident, that they are really against all set and prescribed forms of prayer in the public worship, be they otherwise never so blameless: and consequently, that they oppose therein the consent and the unanimous practice of the Catholic Church of Christ.

This I had to say to our dissenters. But,

2. What we have said concerning prescribed forms of prayer, as always from the days of the Apostles used in all settled churches of Christ, may administer abundant satisfaction and confirmation to all that adhere to the communion of the Church of England, and consequently to the liturgy and form of prayer prescribed in that church.

This may be our comfort, that we serve and worship God in the same way that the primitive confessors and martyrs and all good Christians in the succeeding ages did.

We have a liturgy conform to this law and rule of prayer laid down by the Apostle in my text, and observed by the Catholic Church. We have good and

wholesome supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgiving, not only for ourselves, but for all men.

Those excellent men, our first Reformers, took care to retain and preserve what was primitive and good in the liturgies of other churches, and to pare off all excrescences and adventitious corruptions of after times. We have no prayers to saints or angels, but all our prayers are directed, as they ought to be, to God alone, through Jesus Christ, "the only Mediator between God and man." We have no fabulous legends imposed on us; but we have the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, in an excellent order and method daily read unto us. Our prayers are in a tongue and language that we all understand. We have an entire sacrament, the cup of blessing in the holy Eucharist, which was sacrilegiously taken from us by the Church of Rome, being happily restored to us. The ridiculous pageantry and fopperies of that church are laid aside, and we have the holy Sacrament purely, reverently, and decently administered.

Let us bless and praise God for these his great mercies, and make a good use of them. Let us constantly resort to the prayers of our church, and neglect no opportunity of receiving the Holy Sacrament. And in our daily prayers let us be serious, reverent, and devout; shaking off that coldness and indifferency which is sadly observable in too, too many, and which is enough to render the best of liturgies ineffectual and contemptible.

In a word, let our practice answer to our prayers;

let us live like Christians, and as becomes the members of so excellent a church. And if we do so, our prayers will be acceptable to God, and bring down a blessing, not only upon ourselves, but upon our Church and State too; and we shall see peace in Sion, and prosperity in our Israel.

Which God of his infinite mercy grant, through our Lord Jesus Christ: to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be given all honour and glory, adoration and worship, now and for evermore. Amen.

ON PRESCRIBED FORMS OF COMMON PRAYER.

[THOMAS COMBER, D.D.]

A GENERAL PREFACE CONCERNING THE USEFULNESS AND NECESSITY OF FORMS OF COMMON PRAYER IN PUBLIC WORSHIP, PREFIXED TO THE FIRST PART OF THE COMPANION TO THE TEMPLE.

THERE are two principal ends of the worship of God, the glory of him that is worshipped, and the benefit of the worshippers. And these two are so inseparably united that St. Augustine^a reduceth both to one, assuring us that all the advantage accrues to us. But whether we look on them single or conjoined, no part of divine worship doth so much express and advance God's glory, nor so directly tend to man's good, as public prayer; in which we make the most universal solemn acknowledgments of our obligations unto and dependence upon the supreme Lord of all the world; and by which all the servants of God in all times, places, and circumstances, do with one heart and voice, by common consent^b, reveal their wants and obtain supplies for them. So that we may call this the life and soul of religion, the *anima mundi*, that universal soul which quickens,

^a "Credendus est; totum que quod recte colitur Deus, homini pr
desse non Deo." *Aug. Civit. Dei*, l. 10. cap. 5.

^b "Publica est nobis et *Communis Oratio*, et quando oramus, non pro uno, sed pro toto populo oramus; quia totus populus unum sumus." *Cyprian*.

unites, and moves the whole Christian world. Nor is the case of a private man more desperate when he breathes no more in secret prayer, than the condition of a church is where public devotions cease. St. Hierome, out of Hippolitus, puts the cessation of liturgy as a principal sign of the coming of Antichrist^a; and nothing more clearly shows a profane generation^b, the very title of wicked men in Scripture^c being “that they call not upon God.” It is well if any of us can excuse ourselves; but the general neglect of daily prayers^d by ministers (who are both desirous and bound to perform them) doth too sadly testify they are tired out with the people’s constant absence, and altogether witnesseth an universal decay of true piety. Perhaps the dishonour that is cast upon God and religion will not move these disregarders and neglecters, since they live so that a stranger could not imagine they had any God at all. But I hope they have yet so much charity for their own persons that it may startle them to consider what mischiefs are hereby brought upon their own selves as well as others. Wherefore let them ask the cause of all that atheism and profaneness, luxury and oppression, lying and deceiving, malice and bitterness, that is broke in upon us, to the torment and disquiet of the whole world. Let them ask why they plague others with their sins, and others requite them again? and it will appear that all this is come upon us because we forget God and heaven, death and judgment, which daily prayers would mind us of.

^a Hieron. Com. in Dan.

^b Gen. iv. 26. Chal. Par. Tunc profani fuerunt homines ut non orarent in nomine Domini. Edit. Ven.

^c Psalm xiv. 4., and liii. 4.

^d In the Rubrick before the Morning Prayer.

Our souls are fixed to the earth, because we lift them not up to heaven. We have neither grace to do good, nor resist sin, because we never ask it; and we can have as little hopes of glory as we have signs of grace, because we do not prepare for it. But if these evils be too thin and spiritual, let it be inquired whence our national and personal calamities proceed, epidemical diseases, wars, and pestilences? Whence comes the multiplication of heresies, the prevalency and pride of the enemies of the true religion? The Jews will tell you, "Jacob's voice in the synagogue keeps off Esau's hands from the people."^a We have disrespected and slighted God and his worship, and he may justly put us out of his protection: if he meet us not in his house, he may go away displeased^b; and then we lie open to all evil, when our defence is departed from us; and they that provoke him so to do are enemies to themselves, and to the Church and State where they live, indeed the worst of neighbours.^c But, notwithstanding all this, while sober and devout men lament this epidemical iniquity, and groan under the sad effects thereof, passionately wishing a speedy remedy, the offenders grow bold by their numbers, and hardened by this evil custom, till they now despise a reproof, and deny this negligence to be a sin, because they have no mind to amend it. But these are of two kinds.

1. Those that make their business their apology, and suppose it is unreasonable to expect them every day at

^a "Omni tempore quo Jacobi vox est in synagoga, non sunt ibi manus Esau." *Prov. Rab. lib. Musar.*

^b "Si Deus s. b. Synagoga intrat et nemo inventus est, abiit iratus, ut Isa. l. 2." *Buxtorf. Syn. ex Rh.*

^c "Quisquis incolit civitatem in qua exstat synagoga, et eam tecum non adiit, is est vicinus malus." *R. Nath. de Latr.*

common prayer, and judge it sufficient to say they cannot come.

2. Those which have learned to despise or hate the prayers of the Church, and to scorn that which their forefathers (generally better than they) did heartily serve God by; who account it their virtue to abstain from them, and, having sufficiently undervalued these devotions stamped by public authority, imagine they may say innocently enough, they will not come. And if to disparage the rule did take off our obligation to walk by it, then these scorers were the least of sinners: but neither the excuses of the one shall cover his covetousness and irreligion, nor the confidence of the other shelter his pride at the last and dreadful day. So that I suppose it may be a friendly office, and will be so accepted, to warn all such of the unsafe grounds they rely upon, in their forbearing public prayers. And this I shall do by representing, with all moderation, 1. The reasonableness of our being present at daily prayers, to those who say they cannot. 2. The excellency of the liturgy, to those who say they will not come. And this I am obliged to do, to smooth the way to the temple. For in vain do we show how men may be devout there, if they excuse or deny coming thither. And we must not so confine our charity to these within the walls, as to forget those without. We love the one best, but we must pity the other also, and endeavour to deliver their souls from living in a constant sin, which they miscall innocence. I know I oppose a torrent; but as long as men have reason, I shall hope such as will consider may either be convinced or rendered more moderate. How-

ever, this will confirm those that are of the true Church, and it is something with me to serve such.

1. We shall demonstrate the reasonableness of the daily attendance on public prayers; and that principally from the universal reason of all the world, and the concurrent practice and consent of all mankind^a, which agrees in this, that wheresoever they own a god, true or false, they daily perform some worship to him.^b The very heathens, beside their private requests and vows, made particular addresses to their temples^c in all their great concerns^d, and yet abstained not from the daily sacrifices, nor from the frequent festivals of their numerous deities. In Egypt (as Porphyry relates) they praised their gods with hymns three or four times every day.^e The Turks are called to their houses of prayer five times every day, and six times upon the Fridays; and he that notoriously absents himself is punished with disgrace, and hath a fine set upon him. And if our Saviour think it reasonable we should do something more^f, how dare we call it unreasonable, when we are not enjoined to do so much as they? But to go on: who knows not that the Jews had set hours of prayers, when all devout people (even Christ's Apostles^g) went to the Temple or Synagogues to offer up public supplications? And these hours are observed among them exactly to this very day. One instance of their strict-

“ Non etenim penitus varia est sententia multi
Quam celebrant.”

^b Micah, iv. 5.

^c Ἐπὶ πάσῃ ὁρμῇ, καὶ μικροῦ καὶ μεγάλου πράγματος Θεὸν αἰεὶ τοῦ καλοῦσι.
Plato in Timæo.

^d L. Scipio nil magnum aggressus est nisi prius ascenso Capitolio
Deus ibi veneratus esset. Liv. l. 26.

^e L. de Abstin. 4. sec. 8.

^f Matt. v. 47. Τί περισσόν.

^g Acts, iii. 1.

ness in this particular we learn from the Talmud ; where it appears that because of the distance of the Temple and the impossibility of attendance on the daily sacrifice, those who could not come hired certain devout men who were called *virī stationis*, the men of appearance, to present themselves daily there, and put up petitions for them.^a And the Pharisees not only observed the usual hours of prayer, but doubled them, and zealously kept them all. Now Jesus tells us our righteousness must exceed theirs, if ever we hope to enter into his kingdom.^b Which precept of his some of us could almost afford to call an intolerable burden, for we call a smaller matter by a worse name. To pass, then, to the Christian Church. We have an express command to pray without ceasing^c, that is, without omitting the set times which every day return and ought to be observed.

In obedience hereunto, the Church in the Apostles' time met at daily prayers^d; and so did the primitive Christians for many ages after^e, who had their liturgy, eucharist, and hymns, even in the night, when persecution prevented them in the day. And surely their zeal and fervour is a huge reproach to our sloth, who yet call ourselves of the same religion, and are so far from venturing lives and estates to enjoy opportunities of devotions, that we will not leave our shop nor our

^a Talm. Tract. Tabanaïot. et ap. Petrum Cunæum de R. Public. Hebræorum.

^b Matt. v. 20.

^c 1 Thess. v. 17. " Gr. ἀδιαλείπτως, sc. ut nullo die intermittantur certa tempora orandi." *August.*

^d Acts, ii. 46.

^e " Injunctis precibus frequenter decenterque interdiu noctuque insistunt." *Orig. in Cels.* l. 6.

company, nay, our very idleness, half an hour, for a freer and more easy worship than they could enjoy. Surely we are as unlike them in practice, as we are like in name and profession. Twice a day was not enough for them; wherefore they appointed (in the days of martyrdom) three set times in every day for prayer, — nine, twelve, and three in the afternoon^a, and punctually observed them. Afterwards, in more quiet times, it was wonderful to behold the orderly performance of morning and evening prayer^b in huge assemblies of men and women^c, who failed not of their constant attendance. These are the men and times whose principles we are reformed by; but I wish that corrupted church who forced us to a separation do not prove more conformable to the outward part of their practice in a due observance of public prayer, than we who have more knowledge, better prayers, fewer excuses, and yet less devotion. Wherefore let us no more complain of our own Church for expecting us at daily prayers. Let us rather challenge all nations and people for fools, and declare it unreasonable that we should have any God at all, or let him have any of our time, though he give us all we have. Let us tell the world, we are self-sufficient for the conduct and defence of ourselves and our affairs, and then we shall discover ourselves what we are. We

^a “ In orationibus celebrandis invenimus observasse horam tertiam, sextam et nonam, Sacramento scil. Trinitatis.” *D. Cyprian. de Orat. Dom.*

Tíves ὥρας τακτὰς ἀπονέμουσιν εὐχῇ, ὡς τρίτην φέρε καὶ ἕκτην καὶ ἑννάτην. Clem. Alex. Strom. 1. 7.

^b Τοῦτο ἴσασιν οἱ μύσται πῶς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν γίνεται καὶ ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ καὶ ἐν πρωΐ. Chrys. in 1 Tim. cap. 2.

^c “ Cujusvi sætatis viri ac fœminæ, totis animi viribus hilarique mente precando et gratias agendo Deum bonorum autorem venerabantur.” *Euseb. Eccles. Hist.* 1. 10. c. 3.

must not feign ourselves too busy ; for we do lay aside our business daily, for causes less weighty, and advantages more inconsiderable. If vanity or lust, Satan or his emissaries, call, we can find leisure ; and why not when God calls ? unless we think all that time lost which is spent upon his service, or as if we needed not his blessing. In short, if unavoidable business did hinder us and nothing else, many men might come always, and all sometimes, and every day an hundred for one that now comes. Wherefore it is sloth and covetousness, or atheism and irreligion, keeps us away. And if so, what signify those pretences of praying at home (which ought to be done too) ? Verily, no more than those of the idle schoolboy, who seeks a corner, not to learn, but play in without disturbance. And truly it is to be doubted that constant neglecters of public prayers use seldom and slight devotions in private, for they may make the same objections against them. Finally, therefore, do but remember the reasonableness of this is to be tried at a higher tribunal ; and come as often as God can in reason expect to meet you there, and I shall ask no more.

2. To the reasonableness of the Church's injunction we may add the excellency of that provision which is made for you, which ought to invite you to come, and will be an aggravation of your neglect. But here I must not expatiate into the particular encomium which every part of the liturgy deserves. That would make the porch larger than the house, and may better be seen in the following discourse. Only at present we may say this of it in general, that though all churches in the

world have and ever had forms of prayer, yet none was ever blessed with so comprehensive, so exact, and so inoffensive a composure; which is so judiciously contrived, that the wisest may exercise at once their knowledge and devotion; and yet so plain, that the most ignorant may pray with understanding: so full, that nothing is omitted that is fit to be asked in public; and so particular, that it comprises most things which we would pray for in private; and yet so short as not to tire any that have true devotion. Its doctrine is pure and primitive; its ceremonies so few and innocent, that most of the Christian world agree in them; its method is exact and natural; its language is significant and perspicuous, most of the words and phrases being taken out of Holy Scripture, and the rest are the expressions of the first and best ages: so that whoever takes exceptions at these must quarrel with the language of the Holy Ghost, or fall out with the Church in her greatest innocence. Indeed the greatest part of these prayers are primitive, or a second edition of the most ancient liturgies of the Eastern and Western churches corrected and amended. And in the opinion of the most impartial and excellent Grotius^a, (who was no member of, nor had any obligation to, this church,) the English liturgy comes so near that pattern, that none of the reformed churches can compare with it. And if anything external be needful to recommend that which is so glorious

^a “ Certum mihi est λειτουργίαν Anglicanam, item morem imponendi manus adolescentibus in memoriam baptismi, Auctoritatem Episcoporum, Presbyteria ex solis pastoribus composita, multaque alia ejusmodi, satis congruere institutis vetustioris Ecclesiæ: à quibus in Gallia et Belgio recessum negare non possumus.” *Grot. Epist. ad Boet.*

within; we may add, that the composers were all men of great piety and learning; for they were all either martyrs or confessors upon the restitution of popery, which, as it declares their piety, so the judicious digesting of these prayers doth evidence their learning; for therein a scholar can discern close logic, pleasing rhetoric, pure divinity, and the very marrow of all the ancient doctrine and discipline; and yet all made so familiar that the unlearned may safely say, Amen.^a Lastly, all these excellencies have obtained that universal reputation which these prayers enjoy in all the world; so that they are deservedly admired by the Eastern churches, and had in great esteem by the most eminent Protestants^b beyond the seas (the most impartial judges). In fine, this liturgy is honoured by all but the Romanists, whose interest it opposeth, and some dissenters, whose prejudices will not let them see its lustre; whence it is they call that [which Papists hate because it is Protestant] superstitious and popish; and though they count it Roman, condemn it without a hearing. But when we remember, the best things in a bad world have most enemies, as it doth not lessen its worth, so, it must not abate our esteem, that it hath malicious or misguided adversaries; who for all this hold the conclusion, and obstinately resolve they will not come.

How endless and unprofitable it is to dispute with these, the little success of the best arguments, managed by the wisest men, do too sadly testify. Wherefore I shall decline that, and attempt to convince the enemies,

^a 1 Cor. xiv. 16.

^b See D. Durel; his Defence of the Liturgy.

by assisting the friends of our church devotions; and by drawing that veil which the ignorance and indevotion of some, and the passion and prejudice of others, have cast over them, I shall represent the liturgy in its true and native lustre, which is so lovely and ravishing, that, like the purest beauties, it needs no supplement of art and dressing, but conquers by its own attractives, and wins the affections of all but those that do not see it clearly.^a This will be sufficient, I am sure, to show that whoever desires no more than to worship God with zeal and knowledge, spirit and truth, purity and sincerity, may do it by these devout forms; so that I should have concluded here my preface, when I had given a more particular account of this undertaking, but that I must first examine an objection or two, which are like a skin over the eyes of some, and be the picture never so full of graces, will spoil the prospect, if they be not removed.

Objection 1. It is said to be a form, and therefore a hindrance to zealous praying by the Spirit.

Answer. Whoever makes this objection, and affirms we cannot pray by the Spirit in the words of a form, must beware his ignorance betray him not into a dangerous uncharitableness, and, perhaps, blasphemy. For the saints of the Old Testament^b prayed by forms, and so did Christ himself in the New^c; and he taught his apostles a form to pray by; and dare any say they prayed not by the Spirit? Have not all churches, since

^a "Ignorant qui non amant."

^b Num. vi. 23. Deut. xxvi. 3. Ezra, xi. 5. Dan. ix. 1.

^c Matt. xxvi. 44.

the Apostles' times to our days, had their forms of prayer? And did not the devoutest men of all ages compose and use such? Was ever extempore prayer heard of in public (till of late) unless on special occasions; and do we think no church nor no persons prayed by the Spirit till now? To come nearer still: have not France and Geneva their forms? And did not learned Calvin, and the best reformed divines, use a form before their sermons? And is not an unstudied prayer a form to the people, who are confined to pray in the speaker's words? And will you say these all pray without the Spirit of God? But sure we hug the phrase of praying by the Spirit, not attending the sense. For the meaning, doubtless, is, to be so assisted by the Holy Ghost, that, our thoughts being composed, and our souls calmed, and our hearts deeply affected with our wants, and the Divine all-sufficiency, we can pray with a strong faith and a fervent love. When we are so intent upon our requests that we duly weigh them, and pursue every petition with pressing importunity, ardent desires, and vigorous affections, this is the Spirit of prayer; and thus we may better pray by the Spirit in the words of a form, than we can do when our mind is employed in inventing new expressions: for, having a form, which custom hath made familiar, we have all things set down to our hands which we or others want, and we are at leisure to improve the good motions of the Spirit, having no more to do but to join our souls and affections to every petition, and follow them up to heaven in most passionate and zealous wishes that God would grant them: whereas, in extempore prayer, the

petitions expire into air in a moment, for neither minister nor people knew them before, nor can remember them afterwards; the one being busy in inventing, the others in expecting a pleasing novelty: and, methinks, it argues more of the Spirit of God, when we can attend the old prayers with zeal and love, than when we need variety and novel expressions, to screw us up into a devotion too much like artifice, and seeming rather to be moved by the pleasure of the fancy than the actings of desire. We may judge of the effects of God's Spirit rather by disposing our hearts to join in a well-composed form, than by filling our heads with new prayers, or opening our mouths in fluent expressions; both which may be done without the help of the Spirit, but to be devout without it is most impossible. To which we shall only add, that many truly good men, and sound members of our Church, do daily use these prayers with as much spirit and life, with as serious and sincere devotion, as any in the world can do; and this they account a demonstration that the Spirit doth assist them in this form: and so it may assist these mistaken persons, if they will lay down their groundless prejudice, and strive to serve God thus as well as they can. So would the good Spirit assist their prayers, and make up our differences^a, giving us one mind and one spirit, that with one heart and one mouth we might glorify one God.

Objection 2. But it is farther urged, that these prayers, though good in themselves, will grow flat and

^a "Quis enim inimicum adhuc ducere potest eum cum quo unam ad Deum vocem emisit." *D. Basil.*

nauseous by daily use^a, and consequently become an impediment to devotion.

Answer. We come not to the house of God for recreation, but for a supply of our wants; and therefore this might be a better reason of an empty theatre, than a thin congregation. We come to God in public petition for the relief of our own general necessities, and those of the whole Church, namely, for pardon of sin, peace of conscience, and succours of divine grace, and a deliverance from sin and Satan, death and hell; as also for food and raiment, health and strength, protection and success, in all our concerns; and, more generally, for the peace of the kingdom, the prosperity of the Church, the propagation of the Gospel, and the success of its ministers. Now, these things are always needful, and always the same, to be prayed for every day alike. Wherefore (unless we be so vain as to fancy God is delighted with variety and change as well as we) what need is there to alter the phrase every day, or what efficacy can a new model give to our old requests? Particular wants and single cases must be supplied by the closet devotions; for the public, whether by form or extempore, can never reach all those which are so numerous and variable: wherefore one form may fit all that ought to be asked in the church; and why, then, should we desire a needless and infinite variety and alteration? If we do, it is out of curiosity, not necessity. The poor man is most healthful whose labour procures him both appetite and digestion, who seldom

^a “*Vilia sunt nobis quæcunque prioribus annis
Vidimus, et sordet quicquid spectavimus olim.*”

Calphurn. Ecl. 7.

changeth his dish, yet finds a relish in it, and a new strength from it every day. And so it is with the sober and industrious Christian, who, busying himself in serving God, gets daily a new sense of his wants, and consequently a fresh stomach to these holy forms, which are never flat or dull to him, that brings new affections to them every day. It is the epicure and luxurious, the crammed lazy wanton, or the diseased man, that need *quelques choses*, or sauces, to make this daily bread desirable. And if this be our temper, it is a sign of a diseased soul, and an effect of our surfeiting on holy things. In this we resemble those murmurers^a who despised the “bread of heaven,” because they had it daily, and loathed manna itself, calling it in scorn “dry meat.” This was sufficient to sustain their bodies, and satisfy their hunger, but they required “meat for their soul^b,” that is, to feed their fancies and their lusts: even as we do, for whom the Church hath provided prayers sufficient to express our needs, but not to satiate our wanton fancies, nor gratify the lusts of our curiosity; and we complain they are insipid; so, perhaps, they are to such, for the manna had no taste to the wicked; but it suited itself to the appetite and taste of every good man, as the Jews tell us in their traditions.^c Sure I am, it is true here; for if we be curious and proud, or carnal and profane, there is no gust in the common prayers; but a truly pious man can every day here exercise repentance and faith, love and

^a Numb. xi. 6.

^b Psalm lxxviii. 18. LXX. Βρώματα ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν.

^c Wisd. xi. 21.; et Fagius on Numb. ii.

desire, and so use them as to obtain fresh hopes of mercy, peace of conscience, increase of grace, and expectations of glory: and whoever finds not this, the fault is not in the prayers, but in the indisposition of his own heart.

If all this will undeceive any, and take away their prejudice, so that they may see clearly what they cannot but love if they did behold, I shall think my pains well bestowed; if not, it appears they are resolved to believe as they do, and I am resolved, also, not to imitate them so far as to abuse my adversaries^a with strenuous revilings; because it is more pleasant to me to give a true and lovely character of my own devotions, than an odious though deserved one of others. Only let those that delight in making objections against forms know, that we can easily recriminate, and charge extempore prayers with novelty, confusion, irreverence, vain-glory, which can scarce be denied, and many other inconveniences, that will hardly be excused. But this were to perpetuate a quarrel, and had not been mentioned here, but to teach those to be modest in their censures^b who are not free from all exceptions, nay, liable to infinitely more than can be justly charged upon us.

But having thus cleared the way to all indifferent and disinterested persons, it is time to speak briefly of the design of the following discourse, which is to make

^a “ Non incessimus adversarios convitiis et contumeliis, sicut plerique faciunt, rationum et argumentorum infirmitatem maledictis obtegentes.”
Greg. Naz.

^b “ Cum tua prævideas oculis mala lippus inunctis,
Cur in amicorum vitiis tam cernis acutum.”

it evident that our excellent prayers do deserve all possible love and esteem, and contain in them a rich treasury of all that can make our devotion lively and useful ; and if we be assisted by God's Spirit, and come desirous to pray with zeal and sincerity, here is (without calling in any aid but that of Heaven) a curious order, clear method, significant phrases, and strong arguments to quicken our affections and enlarge our souls in holy and fervent wishes, desires, and meditations, which is the prayer of the inward man, the life and soul of this duty : all which we teach men to do by giving a natural and facile analysis of the method, and by making plain and practical observations on the parts, together with a literal paraphrase of the whole, by which none can imagine I should give a borrowed lustre to the prayers, which they had not of their own ; for I only prove they had it before, and I find all in them, that I observe from them, which I hope will be so plain, that all men will see the inference, and be able in their own devotions to find out much more. Now, in this essay I shall hope to serve three sorts of persons.

1. The ignorant, who may be instructed hereby to "pray with understanding." Not that we suppose these offices so obscure as to need a comment ; for nothing can be more plainly expressed, nor is it possible to invent words more universally understood ; but many that understand the sense of the words have not art enough to discern the order, method, and connection of the prayers, nor skill to find out the arguments that press every request, or the places of Scripture which furnish these devotions with significant phrases, nor

judgment to describe what disposition of soul doth suit the several parts of them. And if we consider that the greatest number are such, we shall think it seasonable to help them with a plain and easy explication. Besides, there are many (in other things) knowing persons, who, rather for want of consideration than judgment, never took notice of the natural dependences of these prayers, nor the true and full import of the expressions, nor of the graces to be exercised in the several parts, because they only attended the words, but took no care to expatiate into holy meditations; and if the former need a master, these want a monitor, lest they offend in a worse kind^a, for negligence is worse than simple ignorance. But I hope, though all that is here be obvious, yet something will be found which either was not known or not observed before, and those things also such as may elevate the affections, and make the prayers more pleasing and more profitable.

2. The devout servants of God, and obedient sons of the Church, whose care it is to pray daily in the public, and whose desire and endeavour is to do it well. Might I be a Nethinim, to hew wood and prepare fuel for the altars of their hearts, I should rejoice; and it hath been my care to suggest not always the most critical, but the most practical sense, which most directly tended to help devotion, for these men's sake, who, no doubt, have in their own hearts made many of these observations before; and I hope they will like them no worse, for I shall like them better, in hopes the same Spirit

^a “Non tibi deputatur ad culpam quod invitus ignoras; sed quod negligis quærere quod ignoras.” *Aug. de lib. Arbitr.* l. 3. c. 19.

directed me and them. But I hope that what I have done will, besides its present assistance, suggest a way to all devout souls for making pathetic and pious enlargements, more and better than are to be found here, that so our daily offices may be full of life and pleasure, and every day court us with new delights; and I must affirm, I have rather opened the top than searched the bottom of this rich mine; but sure I am, we had need to quicken our devotion all we can, not only for our own good, but that our flames might thaw the hearts and lighten the eyes of the rest of the congregation, which scarce ever mind either words or sense, but are either sleepy or tired, to the dishonour of God, the discomfort of the minister^a, and the ruin of their own souls. How happy should we be, if, by my endeavours and your examples, we awaken such into a sense of their duty, that these excellent prayers might every where be said with an excellent spirit, for the benefit of particulars, and the good of the whole Church.

3. The mistaken Dissenters; who hereby may be convinced, and perhaps persuaded^b, that we can pray by this form with as much zeal and more knowledge, with as much spirit and more truth, than by any other kind of prayer. And then it must appear, that this venerable liturgy hath been falsly represented by such, who would not have it seen truly, lest it should

^a "Pauci mecum sunt in oratione, et hi ipsi vertiginosi, hiantes, assidue se convertentes et observantes, quando Psalmorum cantor versus finiet; quando ab Ecclesiâ, velut à carcere, ab orationis necessitate liberabuntur." *Basil. Conc. 1. de Serv.*

^b "Facilius vinci possunt quam persuaderi." *Hieron.*

be loved really.^a But if they are so much their own masters, as that they dare to read the prayers seriously, and view this little book with as much charity as it was written with, I shall hope either for their company at prayers, or at least to escape their censures for going thither. For, unless they be foolishly obstinate, they must either love them, or cannot hate them. If they would love them, and pray with us, we shall be friends; and if only the second, we shall be quiet, and even that is desirable. That these are the designs which began and encouraged this undertaking, the author's own conscience doth testify; and he hopes even those who approve not the means, must confess the end of this work is good. And if it be successful in any of these kinds, he will not repent his pains. If in none, he is not the first that hath failed of accomplishing good intentions. However, he will have satisfaction in the peace of a "good conscience^b," and may say with that noble Roman^c, "If the success answers his sincerity, it must be a cause of universal joy; if not, he can rejoice in his cordial intentions to do good." For the censures of furious zealots, or the scoffing of profane Ishmaels, he doth not value them, being only unwilling to offend authority, or true piety. Wherefore he doth humbly submit these pages to the judicious correction of the reverend fathers of the Church, desiring nothing may

^a "Credunt de nobis quæ non probantur, nolunt inquiri ne probentur, non esse." *Tert.*

"Ante nos incipiunt homines odisse quam nosse, ne cognitos aut imitari possint aut damnari non possint." *Cypr. de Idol. Van.*

^b 2 Cor. i. 12.

^c "Si sequuta fuerit quæ debuit fortuna, nos omnes gaudebimus; sin minùs, ego tamen gaudebo." *Brutus ap. Ciceronem.*

be said which dissents from the doctrine and discipline now established ; for if it do, it is without the author's knowledge and against his judgment. And now 'tis time to conclude this preface with a twofold request.

First, to my brethren of the clergy, that they will read these prayers so frequently, that such as have leisure may never want opportunity thus to serve God ; and so fervently, that those who do attend them may be brought into an high esteem of them. It was a great end of God's instituting the priest's office, and a principal motive to our pious ancestors in their liberal provisions for it^a, that there might be an order of men on purpose to pray daily for all mankind, especially for such as could not daily attend divine service : so that if we neglect this daily sacrifice, we neither answer the designs of God, nor of our benefactors. And as we are not excused by, so we ought not to be discouraged at, the people's slowness in coming to daily prayers ; for their presence is indeed a comfort to us and an advantage to themselves, but their absence doth not hinder the success, nor should it obstruct the performance, of our prayers. The promise of Jesus is made to two or three ; and since our petitions are directed to God, we need not regard who is absent, so long as he is present to whom we speak ; for he accepts our requests, not by the number, but the sincerity of those that make them. Let our congregation, therefore, be great or small, it is our duty to read these prayers daily ; and every day to do it with such fervency and reverence, as may declare

^a Canones R. Edgar I. et XLV., ad Spelman. Concil. An. Chr. 967. et alibi sæpissime.

that our affections keep pace with our words, while we are presenting so excellent requests to so infinite a Majesty, upon so weighty occasions; and also we must recite them with such gravity and deliberation, as may afford sufficient time both for ourselves and our people to consider every petition, and press it with devout affections, and a holy importunity, which is the life of prayer^a: and if any use these comprehensive forms without such pious enlargements, it is not for want of matter in the offices (as I have demonstrated), but for want of devotion and zeal in their own hearts. It is only such as have no true sense of piety who say the liturgy without affection; and I am very confident the rude and hasty repeating thereof hath contributed more to the making common prayer odious and contemptible, than the arguments or the aspersions of its most malicious enemies; whereas if we ourselves would show that we are sincerely affected and concerned while we pray by it, we may expect it will be acceptable to God, and of high esteem amongst all people; so that I wish it may not be said of any of us, as once of Eli's sons, "Their sin was very great, for they made men abhor the offering of the Lord." 1 Sam. xi. 17.

Secondly, I shall make it my earnest request to all the people of this church, not to judge of these prayers by the character that ignorance and atheism, prejudice and evil interests fasten on them; but to consider them very well; and then they will find the liturgy to be

^a "Cum oratis Deum, hoc versetur in corde, quod profertur in ore." *August.* "Jungamus verbis sensum sensui affectum." *D. Bern. in Cantic,* serm. 13.

plainer and more methodical in itself, more comprehensive and more suitable to a public congregation, than the best extempore effusion, which makes more noise and show, but is emptier, and of far less weight in the esteem of God and all judicious men. Let none, therefore, think it a needless and unprofitable waste of time to go to the house of God only to hear common prayer; for prayer is the proper duty of that place, which is called the house of prayer; and it is a duty that is of all others the highest and hardest, and yet the most profitable, if it be devoutly and well performed. So that I cannot but pity and lament the stupidity of those who either sleep or sit by heedless and unconcerned, while so great and so advantageous a scene of duty lies before them. And I must, for their own sakes, beseech all that are present at these devotions, first, to compose their bodies into those most reverent postures which the Church hath suited to every part of duty, kneeling at the confession, absolution, and prayers; standing at the Gloria Patri, hymns, and creeds, and bowing at the holy name of Jesus; for a general uniformity in these things doth declare that there is in us a due sense of the Divine presence, a great obedience to our governors, and a sweet harmony between our bodies and souls in the worship we pay to the Creator of both. Secondly, to make their responses with a loud and audible voice. The Romanist cannot bear a part in his adored mass, because it is in an unknown tongue; the Separatist is excluded from all share in this duty by the novel device of one tedious form without variety or intermission; but the Church of England not only

allows this primitive privilege to her sons, but commands it: and surely none will forbear to answer out of laziness, that consider the honour and benefit thereof; nor ought any to be silent out of modesty or shame, it being no shame that men should hear us pray in the house of prayer, for we came on purpose to pray, and the only shame is to be mute and silent. Thirdly, let me entreat them to ponder the Divine all-sufficiency, and their own great necessities, before they begin; and to keep their heart close to every petition as they go along; and they will find them all so fit to be asked, and so likely to be obtained; so agreeable to their own wants, and to the necessities of all mankind; that it will be pleasant to ask them, and delightful to expect a gracious answer to them. And if they daily come, and constantly use the common prayer in this manner, they will neither be tired with the length nor wearied with the frequent repetition thereof; for it will appear to be the most noble and comfortable exercise that religion doth afford: it will increase their graces, multiply their blessings, and fit them for the never-ceasing service of the heavenly choir. May the God of peace, therefore, reconcile us to these prayers, and to one another, giving us pious and zealous priests, devout and well-disposed people, that we may have full churches, frequent prayers, and fervent charity; than which nothing will more conduce to the public happiness of this nation, and the salvation of all our souls. The good Lord grant it, therefore, for Jesus' sake. Amen.

THE PSALTER OR PSALMS OF DAVID.

ON OUR MANNER OF READING THE PSALMS
OTHER THAN THE REST OF SCRIPTURE.

[RICHARD HOOKER.]

XXXVII. THE complaints which they make about psalms and hymns might as well be overpast without any answer, as it is without any cause brought forth. But our desire is to content them, if it may be, and to yield them a just reason even of the least things wherein undeservedly they have but as much as dreamed or suspected that we do amiss. They seem sometimes so to speak, as if it greatly offended them, that such hymns and psalms as are Scripture should in common prayer be otherwise used than the rest of the Scripture is wont^a: sometime displeased they are at the artificial music which we add unto psalms of this kind, or of any nature else; sometime the plainest and the most intelligible rehearsal of them yet they savour not, because it is done by interlocation, and with a mutual return of sentences from side to side.

They are not ignorant what difference there is be-

^a T. C. lib. iii. p. 206. "They have always the same profit to be studied in, to be read, and preached upon, which other Scriptures have, and this above the rest, that they are to be sung. But to make daily prayers of them hand over head, or otherwise than the present estate wherein we be doth agree with the matter contained in them, is an abusing of them."

tween other parts of Scripture and Psalms. The choice and flower of all things profitable in other books^a, the Psalms do both more briefly contain, and more movingly also express, by reason of that poetical form wherewith they are written. The ancient, when they speak of the Book of Psalms, use to fall into large discourses, showing how this part above the rest doth of purpose set forth and celebrate all the considerations and operations which belong to God: it magnifieth the holy meditations and actions of divine men; it is of things heavenly an universal declaration, working in them whose hearts God inspireth with the due consideration thereof, an habit or disposition of mind whereby they are made fit vessels both for receipt and for delivery of whatsoever spiritual perfection. What is there necessary for man to know which the Psalms are not able to teach? They are to beginners an easy and familiar introduction, a mighty augmentation of all virtue and knowledge in such as are entered before, a strong confirmation to the most perfect among others. Heroical magnanimity, exquisite justice, grave moderation, exact wisdom, repentance unfeigned, unwearied patience, the mysteries of God, the sufferings of Christ, the terrors of wrath, the comforts of grace, the works of Providence over this world, and the promised joys of that world which is to come, all good necessarily to be either known or done or had, this one celestial fountain yieldeth. Let there be any grief or disease incident into the soul of man, any wound or sickness

^a Ἡ περιεκτικὴ τῶν πανιέρων ὑμνολογία. Dionys. Hierar. Eccles. cap. iii. § 4, 5.

named, for which there is not in this treasure-house a present comfortable remedy at all times ready to be found. Hereof it is that we covet to make the Psalms especially familiar unto all. This is the very cause why we iterate the Psalms oftener than any other part of Scripture besides; the cause wherefore we inure the people together with their minister, and not the minister alone to read them as other parts of Scripture he doth.

XXXVIII. Touching musical harmony, whether by instrument or by voice, it being but of high and low in sounds a due proportionable disposition; such notwithstanding is the force thereof, and so pleasing effects it hath in that very part of man which is most divine, that some have been thereby induced to think that the soul itself by nature is or hath in it harmony. A thing which delighteth all ages and bescemeth all states; a thing as seasonable in grief as in joy; as decent being added unto actions of greatest weight and solemnity, as being used when men most sequester themselves from action. The reason hereof is an admirable facility which music hath to express and represent to the mind, more inwardly than any other sensible mean, the very standing, rising, and falling, the very steps and inflections every way, the turns and varieties of all passions whereunto the mind is subject; yea, so to imitate them, that whether it resemble unto us the same state wherein our minds already are, or a clean contrary, we are not more contentedly by the one confirmed, than changed and led away by the other. In harmony the very image and character even of virtue

and vice is perceived, the mind delighted with their resemblances, and brought by having them often iterated into a love of the things themselves. For which cause there is nothing more contagious and pestilent than some kinds of harmony; than some, nothing more strong and potent unto good. And that there is such a difference of one kind from another we need no proof but our own experience, inasmuch as we are at the hearing of some more inclined unto sorrow and heaviness; of some, more mollified and softened in mind; one kind apter to stay and settle us, another to move and stir our affections; there is that draweth to a marvellous grave and sober mediocrity; there is also that carrieth as it were into ecstasies, filling the mind with an heavenly joy, and for the time in a manner severing it from the body. So that, although we lay altogether aside the consideration of ditty or matter, the very harmony of sounds, being framed in due sort and carried from the ear to the spiritual faculties of our souls, is by a native puissance and efficacy greatly available to bring to a perfect temper whatsoever is there troubled, apt as well to quicken the spirits as to allay that which is too eager, sovereign against melancholy and despair, forcible to draw forth tears of devotion if the mind be such as can yield them, able both to move and to moderate all affections.

The prophet David having, therefore, singular knowledge not in poetry alone but in music also, judged them both to be things most necessary for the house of God, left behind him to that purpose a number of divinely-indited poems, and was farther the

author of adding unto poetry melody in public prayer, melody both vocal and instrumental, for the raising up of men's hearts, and the sweetening of their affections towards God. In which considerations the Church of Christ doth likewise at this present day retain it as an ornament to God's service, and an help to our own devotion. They which, under pretence of the law ceremonial abrogated, require the abrogation of instrumental music, approving nevertheless the use of vocal melody to remain, must show some reason wherefore the one should be thought a legal ceremony and not the other.

In church music, curiosity and ostentation of art, wanton or light or unsuitable harmony, such as only pleaseth the ear, and doth not naturally serve to the very kind and degree of those impressions which the matter that goeth with it leaveth or is apt to leave in men's minds, doth rather blemish and disgrace that we do, than add either beauty or furtherance unto it. On the other side, these faults prevented, the force and equity of the thing itself, when it drowneth not utterly, but fitly suiteth with matter altogether sounding to the praise of God, is, in truth, most admirable, and doth much edify, if not the understanding, because it teacheth not, yet surely the affection, because therein it worketh much. They must have hearts very dry and tough, from whom the melody of psalms doth not sometime draw that wherein a mind religiously affected delighteth. Be it as Rabanus Maurus observeth, that at the first the Church in this exercise was more simple and plain than we are, that their singing was little

more than only a melodious kind of pronunciation; that the custom which we now use was not instituted so much for their cause which are spiritual, as to the end that into grosser and heavier minds, whom bare words do not easily move, the sweetness of melody might make some entrance for good things. St. Basil himself, acknowledging as much, did not think that from such inventions the least jot of estimation and credit thereby should be derogated^a: “For,” saith he, “whereas the Holy Spirit saw that mankind is unto virtue hardly drawn, and that righteousness is the less accounted of by reason of the proneness of our affections to that which delighteth; it pleased the wisdom of the same Spirit to borrow from melody that pleasure, which, mingled with heavenly mysteries, causeth the smoothness and softness of that which toucheth the ear, to convey, as it were by stealth, the treasure of good things into man’s mind. To this purpose were those harmonious tunes of psalms devised for us, that they which are either in years but young, or touching perfection of virtue as not yet grown to ripeness, might, when they think they sing, learn. Oh the wise conceit of that heavenly Teacher, which hath, by his skill, found out a way, that, doing those things wherein we delight, we may also learn that whereby we profit!”

^a Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶδε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον δυσάγωγον πρὸς ἀρετὴν τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐπιβρεπὲς τοῦ ὁρθοῦ βιωῦ καταμελοῦντας ἡμᾶς, τί ποιεῖ; τὸ ἐκ τῆς μελωδίας τερπνὸν τοῖς δόγμασιν ἐγκατέμιξεν, ἵνα τῷ προσηνεῖ καὶ λείῳ τῆς ἀκοῆς τὸ ἐκ τῶν λόγων ὠφέλιμον λανθάνοντως ὑποδεξάμεθα. — Διὰ τοῦτο, τὰ ἐναρμόνια ταῦτα μέλη τῶν ψαλμῶν ἡμῖν ἐπινερόνται, ἵνα οἱ παῖδες τὴν ἡλικίαν ἢ καὶ ὅλως οἱ νεαροὶ τὸ ἥθος τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν μελωδῶσι τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκπαιδεύωνται. — ὦ τῆς σοφῆς ἐπινοίας τοῦ διδασκάλου ὁμοῦ τε ἄδειν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ λυσιτελεῖ μανθάνειν μηχανωμένου. Basil. in Psal.

XXXIX. And if the prophet David did think that the very meeting of men together, and their accompanying one another to the house of God, should make the bond of their love insoluble, and tie them in a league of inviolable amity (Psal. lv. 14.), how much more may we judge it reasonable to hope, that the like effects may grow in each of the people towards other, in them all towards their pastor, and in their pastor towards every of them, between whom there daily and interchangeably pass, in the hearing of God himself, and in the presence of his holy angels, so many heavenly acclamations, exultations, provocations, petitions, songs of comfort, psalms of praise and thanksgiving: in all which particulars, as when the pastor maketh their suits, and they with one voice testify a general assent thereunto; or when he joyfully beginneth, and they with like alacrity follow^a, dividing between them the sentences wherewith they strive which shall most show his own and stir up others' zeal, to the glory of that God whose name they magnify; or when he proposeth unto God their necessities, and they their own requests for relief in every of them; or when he lifteth up his voice like a trumpet to proclaim unto them the laws of God, they adjoining, though not as Israel did by way of generality, a cheerful promise, "All that the Lord

^a T. C. i 203. "For the singing of psalms by course, and side after side, although it be very ancient, yet it is not commendable, and so much the more to be suspected, for that the devil hath gone about to get it so great authority, partly by deriving it from Ignatius's time, and partly in making the world believe that this came from heaven, and that the angels were heard to sing after this sort; which, as it is a mere fable, so is it confuted by historiographers, whereof some ascribe the beginning of this to Damasus, some other unto Flavianus and Diodorus."

hath commanded we will do^a," yet that which God doth no less approve, that which savoureth more of meekness, that which testifieth rather a feeling knowledge of our common imbecility, unto the several branches thereof, several lowly and humble requests for grace at the merciful hands of God to perform the thing which is commanded; or when they wish reciprocally each other's ghostly happiness; or when he, by exhortation, raiseth them up, and they, by protestation of their readiness, declare he speaketh not in vain unto them: these interlocutory forms of speech, what are they else, but most effectual partly testifications and partly inflammations of all piety?

When and how this custom of singing by course came up in the Church, it is not certainly known. Socrates maketh Ignatius the bishop of Antioch in Syria the first beginner thereof, even under the Apostles themselves.^b But against Socrates they set the authority of Theodoret, who draweth the original of it from Antioch as Socrates doth; howbeit, ascribing the invention to others, Flavian and Diodore, men which constantly stood in defence of the apostolic faith against the bishop of that church, Leontius, a favourer of the Arians.^c Against both Socrates and Theodoret, Platina^d is brought as a witness, to testify that Damasus, bishop of Rome, began it in his time. Of the Latin Church it may be true which Platina saith; and therefore the eldest of that church which maketh any men-

^a Exod. xix. 8.; xxiv. 3. Deut. v. 27.; xxvi. 17. Josh. xxiv. 16.

^b Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. c. 8.

^c Theod. lib. ii. cap. 24.

^d Plat. in Vita Damasi.

tion thereof is St. Ambrose^a, bishop of Milan, at the same time when Damasus was of Rome. Amongst the Grecians^b, St. Basil having brought it into his church before they of Neocæsarea used it, Sabellius the heretic and Marcellus took occasion thereat to incense the churches against him, as being an author of new devices in the service of God. Whereupon, to avoid the opinion of novelty and singularity, he allegeth for that which himself did the example of the churches of Egypt, Libya, Thebes, Palestina, the Arabians, Phœnicians, Syrians, Mesopotamians, and in a manner all that revered the custom of singing psalms together. If the Syrians had it then before Basil, Antioch, the mother church of those parts, must needs have used it before Basil, and consequently before Damasus. The question is, then, how long before, and whether so long that Ignatius, or as ancient as Ignatius, may be probably thought the first inventors. Ignatius, in Trajan's days, suffered martyrdom; and of the churches in Pontus and Bithynia to Trajan the emperor, his own vicegerent there affirmeth, that the only crime he knew of them was, they used to meet together at a certain day, and to praise Christ with hymns as a God, *secum invicem*, "one to another amongst themselves^c;" which, for any thing we know to the contrary, might be the selfsame form which Philo Judæus expresseth, declar-

^a "Bene mari plerumque comparatur ecclesia, quæ primo ingredientis populi agmine totis vestibulis undas vomit; deinde in oratione totius plebis tanquam undis reffluentibus stridet; tum responsoriis psalmorum, cantu virorum, mulierum, virginum, parvulorum, consonus undarum fragor resultat." *Hexam. lib. ii. cap. 5.*

^b Basil. Epist. 63.

^c Plin. Secund. Epist. lib. x.

ing how the Essenes were accustomed, with hymns and psalms, to honour God, sometime all exalting their voices together in one, and sometime one part answering another, wherein, as he thought, they swerved not much from the pattern of Moses and Miriam.^a

Whether Ignatius did at any time hear the angels praising God after that sort or no, what matter is it? If Ignatius did not, yet one which must be with us of greater authority did. "I saw the Lord," saith the Prophet Esay, "on an high throne; the seraphim stood upon it: one cried to another, saying, Holy, holy, holy Lord God of Hosts: the whole world is full of his glory."^b

But whosoever were the author, whatsoever the time, whencesoever the example of beginning this custom in the Church of Christ; sith we are wont to suspect things only before trial, and afterwards either to approve them as good, or if we find them evil, accordingly to judge of them, their counsel must needs seem very unseasonable, who advise men now to suspect that wherewith the world hath had, by their own account, twelve hundred years' acquaintance and upwards, enough to take away suspicion and jealousy. Men know by this time, if ever they will know, whether it be good or evil which hath been so long retained.

As for the devil, which way it should greatly benefit him to have this manner of singing psalms accounted an invention of Ignatius, or an imitation of the angels of heaven, we do not well understand. But we very well see in them who thus plead a wonderful

^a Exod. xv. 1—21.

^b Isa. vi. 1—3.

celerity of discourse; for, perceiving at the first but only some cause of suspicion and fear lest it should be evil, they are presently, in one and the selfsame breath, resolved that "what beginning soever it had, there is no possibility it should be good."^a The potent arguments which did thus suddenly break in upon them and overcome them, are, first, that it is not unlawful for the people all jointly to praise God in singing of psalms; secondly, that they are not anywhere forbidden by the law of God to sing every verse of the whole psalm both with heart and voice quite and clean throughout; thirdly, that it cannot be understood what is sung after our manner. Of which three, forasmuch as lawfulness to sing one way proveth not another way inconvenient, the former two are true allegations, but they lack strength to accomplish their desire; the third so strong, that it might persuade, if the truth thereof were not doubtful.

And shall this enforce us to banish a thing which

^a T. C. lib. i. p. 203. "From whencesoever it came, it cannot be good, considering that when it is granted that all the people may praise God (as it is in singing of psalms), then this ought not to be restrained unto a few; and where it is lawful both with heart and voice to sing the whole psalm, there it is not meet that they should sing but the one half with their heart and voice, and the other with their heart only. For where they may both with heart and voice sing, there the heart is not enough. Therefore, besides the incommodity which cometh this way, in that being tossed after this sort, men cannot understand what is sung, those other two inconveniences come of this form of singing, and therefore it is banished in all reformed churches." "How you forget yourself! Before you found fault with the book because the people repeated their prayers after the minister, and that because 'the minister is the only mouth of the people unto the Lord;' now, as though you were not the same man, but played some other part, you find fault with the order of service because they be not their own mouths to the Lord: then to pray with heart was sufficient; now it is not enough. Whence this contrariety should spring I cannot imagine, except I should ascribe it to a froward and preposterous desire that you have to deface this church."

all Christian churches in the world have received; a thing which so many ages have held; a thing which the most approved councils and laws have so oftentimes ratified; a thing which was never found to have any inconvenience in it; a thing which always heretofore the best men and wisest governors of God's people did think they could never commend enough; a thing which, as Basil was persuaded, did both strengthen the meditation of those holy words which were uttered in that sort, and serve also to make attentive, and to raise up the hearts of men; a thing whereunto God's people of old did resort, with hope and thirst that thereby especially their souls might be edified; a thing which filleth the mind with comfort and heavenly delight, stirreth up flagrant desires and affections correspondent unto that which the words contain, allayeth all kind of base and earthly cogitations, banisheth and driveth away those evil secret suggestions which our invisible enemy is always apt to minister, watereth the heart to the end it may fructify, maketh the virtuous-in trouble full of magnanimity and courage, serveth as a most approved remedy against all doleful and heavy accidents which befall men in this present life; to conclude, so fitly accordeth with the Apostle's own exhortation, "Speak to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, making melody and singing to the Lord in your hearts^a," that surely there is more cause to fear lest the want thereof be a maim, than the use a blemish to the service of God?

It is not our meaning, that what we attribute unto

^a Eph. v. 19.

the Psalms should be thought to depend altogether on that only form of singing or reading them by course, as with us the manner is; but the end of our speech is to show that because the fathers of the Church, with whom the selfsame custom was so many ages ago in use, have uttered all these things concerning the fruit which the Church of God did then reap, observing that and no other form, it may be justly avouched that we ourselves retaining it, and besides it also the other more newly and not unfruitfully devised, do neither want that good which the latter invention can afford, nor lose any thing of that for which the ancients so oft and so highly commend the former. Let novelty, therefore, in this, give over endless contradictions, and let ancient custom prevail.

HOLY SACRAMENTS.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE SACRAMENTS.

[ISAAC BARROW, D.D.]

IT is a peculiar excellency of our religion, that it doth not much employ men's care, pains, and time about matters of ceremonial observance, but doth chiefly (and in a manner wholly) exercise them in works of substantial duty, agreeable to reason, perfective of man's nature, productive of true glory to God, and solid benefit to men. Its design is not to amuse our fancies with empty shows, nor to take up our endeavours in fruitless performances, but to render us truly good and like unto God; first, in interior disposition of mind, then in exterior practice; full of hearty love and reverence to God, of tender charity and good-will toward men; of moderation and purity in the enjoyment of these things; of all true piety and virtue; whereby we may become qualified for that life of bliss which it tendereth and promiseth; for conversation in that holy society above to which it designeth and calleth us. Yet because fancy is naturally a medium, and an effectual instrument of action, and because sensible objects are apt strongly to affect our minds, it hath pleased the Divine

wisdom to apply them in a fit measure, and to sanctify them to those good purposes by appointing some few solemn and significant rites to be observed by us, being in their own nature proper and useful, and by God designed to declare his mind and gracious intents to us; to consign and convey his grace into our souls, to confirm our faith in him, to raise our devotion toward him, to quicken our resolutions of obeying his will; to enable and excite us to the practice of those great duties which he requireth of us. "Our Lord Jesus Christ," saith St. Austin^a, "hath subjected us to his gentle yoke and light burden; whence, with sacraments most few in number, most easy for observance, most excellent in signification, he bound together the society of new people:" and, "The mercy of God," saith he again, "would have religion free by the celebration of a most few and most clear sacraments."

Of these there appear two (and St. Austin in the place cited could instance in no more) of general and principal use, instituted by our Lord himself; which, because they represent to us somewhat not subject to sense, and have a secret influence upon us, because what is intended by them is not immediately discernible by what is done, without some explication, (their significancy being not wholly grounded in the nature, but depending upon arbitrary institution, as that of words,

^a "Dominus noster leni jugo suo nos subdidit, et sarcinæ levi; unde sacramentis numero paucissimis, observatione facillimis, significatione præstantissimis societatem novi populi colligavit: sicut est baptismus Trinitatis nomine consecratus, communicatio corporis et sanguinis ipsius; et si quid aliud in Scripturis canonicis commendatur," &c. *Ep.* 118. "Religionem paucissimis et manifestissimis celebrationum sacramentis misericordia Dei liberam esse voluit." *Id. Ep.* 119.

which is of kin to them, whence St. Austin calls a sacrament *verbum visibile*,) have usually been called mysteries, (that is, actions of a close and occult importance, of deeper meaning and design than is obvious to ordinary perception,) and thence are also called sacraments, for no other reason, I conceive, than because the ancientest translators of the Bible into Latin did usually render the word *μυστήριον* by the word *sacramentum*; whence every thing containing under it somewhat of abstruse meaning is by ancient writers termed a sacrament. So Tertullian calls all Christianity the sacrament of Christian religion; and Elisha's axe he calls the sacrament of wood; and St. Austin speaks of the sacrament of bread, of fish, of numbers, of the rock, &c. In short, he says of all signs, that when they belong to divine things they are called sacraments^a; which shows to how small purpose the disputes are, yea, on what small grounds the decrees are, concerning the number, general nature, and efficacy of sacraments; for where a name or form of a sacrament is of so large, ambiguous, and indeterminate signification, there can be nothing but confusion in the disputes about it. But those which, chiefly at least, and in way of eminency, have obtained this name, are those two instituted by our Lord, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, of which I shall in order discourse; and so of each, as very briefly to consider the occasion of their institution; the

^a "Nimis autem longum est convenienter disputare de varietate signorum, quæ, cum ad res divinas pertinent, sacramenta appellantur." *Aug. ep. 5.*

"In cunctis Christi actionibus sacramentorum mysteria corruscant." *Leo I. ep. 4.*

actions enjoined in them; the nature of them, or wherein their mystery doth consist; the ends for which they were intended; and the effects they produce; together with the dispositions and duties (antecedent, concomitant, and consequent) required of us in the use and practice of them.

OF SACRAMENTS IN GENERAL.

[JOHN HACKET, D.D.]

HOW THE SACRAMENTS MINISTER TO A CHRISTIAN'S COMFORT.—A GENERAL SURVEY OF SACRAMENTS. — FIVE REASONS WHY GOD ORDAINED TWO SACRAMENTS UNDER THE GOSPEL.

THOUGH by that which hitherto hath been set forth, I trust I may assume that every one that sets his heart to make use of it hath drunk well; yet, as the ruler of the feast said at the marriage in Cana of Galilee, "I have kept the good," that is, the best, "wine until now;"^a the water of life in baptism, the wine that delighteth the spiritual thirst in the Lord's supper. Other things in the world report unto us what a good land the Lord hath promised to his Israel; but these two sacraments are Caleb and Joshua, spies that have seen and searched the land, and bring us sensible and sure tidings that it is a noble land, flowing with milk and honey: by the grapes which they have brought with them, and by their ocular and diligent survey, they yield evident testimony that God hath provided a gracious country for us in the kingdom of heaven. To put all my work of consolation into one prospect together, prayer, the best comfortable

^a John, ii. 10.

grace, is married to hope; the Holy Ghost gives it in marriage; faith is the priest that joins them together, and the two sacraments are the outward signs by which they have declared their consent, as it were, by giving and receiving a ring, and by joining of hands.

First, I will treat of sacraments in general; then of each in particular by itself.

A sacrament being, “a visible sign of inward grace, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof;” or, more at large (which compriseth the end of all such outward signs), “a token to confirm men’s faith in the promises of God;” observe, first, that God hath condescended, above all expression, to our weakness, that he would have us to take notice of his mercies in gross and sensible things; a way that is framed to our level and dull apprehension. For “God is a spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth.”^a That is purely a heavenly way. But some alterations have been admitted, to bring us forward in our own pace, that is, after human and bodily fancies. *Deus quandoque infantilia loquitur*; for our sakes, the Lord speaks in the Scriptures in a plain and vulgar emphasis, strangely beneath his infinite wisdom: as a nurse useth to babble to her infant, so he is pleased to give himself to our hands, to our eyes, to our taste, in common and obvious matter, but out of his surpassing wisdom, to make us more spiritual, by clothing religion in a bodily attire.

The Church began in innocency, and yet it began with a sacrament, the tree of life,—instituted to keep

^a John, iv. 24.

mankind on earth immortal by tasting it, if Adam had not ambitiously eaten of the tree of knowledge.

When the old world was drowned, and repaired again, God told Noah^a, “I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth, that the waters shall no more become a flood, to destroy all the earth.” This is the world’s covenant, and not the Church’s; a covenant to save all the earth from a total deluge. And God is to be perceived and to be thought of in that sign. The glory of the throne of God “was as the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain: this was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord:”^b and so the same glory is figured in the rainbow.^c

After this, it being not discovered who did openly and entirely profess the worship of the true God, Abraham was called out of Chaldea, and he and his family were embodied into a church, and received the sign of circumcision, as a mark stamped upon them, to be known to be those whom God had called out for his own, and did admonish them “to circumcise the foreskin of the heart^d:” chiefly to imprint into them that the promised seed should come from that stock, in whom all nations should be blessed.

When Abraham’s seed became a national church, before they could get out of Egypt, the blood of a lamb was sprinkled upon their doors, with a statute given upon it, that from thenceforth every family, at that time of the year, should give account for a lamb slain,

^a Gen. ix.

^c Rev. iv. 3.

^b Ezek. i. 28.

^d Deut. x. 16.

and be eaten within their houses, till John Baptist's "Lamb" was slain to "take away the sin of the world."

Under the like discipline, they were trained up for a while in the wilderness, when Moses set up the figure of a serpent upon a pole, that they might look upon it, and live, that were stung by serpents.^a The author of the Book of Wisdom writes divinely upon it. "That they might be admonished for a small season it was a sign of salvation: and he that turned himself toward it was not saved by the thing he saw, but by thee, that art the Saviour of the world."^b

Neither are we such perfect men under the New Testament, to be taught only by the words of holiness and truth, but are received into the covenant of grace, and preserved in it, by mysteries signifying wonderful things to our outward senses, that we may suck, and be satisfied with the Church's "two breasts of consolation^c;" and be filled with the "two golden pipes, that empty the golden oil out of themselves."^d

I stand upon the number of *two*, because they are put together^e: "The Israelites were all baptized in the cloud, did all eat the same spiritual meat, and all drank of the same spiritual drink." As good account for it is^f, "By one Spirit we are all baptized into one body, and have been all made to drink into one Spirit." Or learn it from St. John^g: "Christ came not by water alone, but by water and blood. And there are three that bear witness, the Spirit," that is, the ministry of the Gospel,

^a Num. xxi. 9.

^b Chap. xvi. 6, 7.

^c Isa. lxvi. 31.

^d Zech. iv. 12.

^e 1 Cor. x. 3.

^f 1 Cor. xii. 13.

^g 1 Epist. v. 6.

“the water,” that is, baptism, and “the blood,” that is, the Lord’s supper. I will not promise a precise testimony out of antiquity, which shall say there are but two sacraments under the Gospel, and no more; but learned men have produced out of the fathers as much as amounts unto it, to them that will not be contentious. Justin Martyr^a, to the emperor, speaks of these two marks, or professed signs of Christianity, and no other. Tertullian against Marcion^b, brings them that are married to baptism and the Lord’s supper. St. Cyprian^c to Stephen: “Then they are sanctified, when they are born again by both sacraments.” St. Cyril and St. Ambrose, writing purposely of sacraments, speak but of two. St. Austin^d to Januarius: “Christ hath subjected us to a light yoke, to sacraments of the smallest number, easy in observation, excellent in dignity; baptism in the name of the Holy Trinity, and the communion of Christ’s body and blood;” and if any thing else be commanded in Scripture. And many allude to that number from Cant. iv. 5.: “Thy breasts are like two young roes that are twins.” Here is a brief survey, how God, in all ages, hath communicated with us in sacraments.

May the reason of it be discovered? Nay, “Who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been his counsellor?”^e Yet it is no trespass against the sobriety of wisdom to ask, why Christian religion depends so much upon visible sacraments?

1. It is to give faith a third manner of corroboration;

^a 2 Apol.

^b Lib. iii. c. 51.

^c Lib. ii. ep. 1.

^d Ep. 118.

^e Rom. xi. 34.

and a threefold cord is not easily broken. First, God hath promised us all blessings in Christ. Secondly, he gave an oath for it unto Abraham, "that by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong consolation."^a Thirdly, after he had plighted both oath and promise, he hath given us holy signs to confirm it. When God had both promised and sworn, durst we of ourselves have asked a sign to confirm it, to make us more believing? No, truly, we durst not; for "an evil and an adulterous generation seeketh after a sign:" it were a great blemish in faith, if we should appoint God to lend us a crutch to lean upon. But God hath prevented us herein; and, as we say in the Common Prayer, "that which for our unworthiness we durst not ask," he hath supplied of his own accord, and hath instituted sacred signs, wrapped up in the creatures, of most ordinary use, to make it more easy to lay hold of the hope that is set before us.

2. Secondly: Every great deliverance in God's book was accompanied with some outward sign, to make it more comfortable upon so remarkable an impression: as Moses, being appointed to be the captain to lead Israel out of Egypt, was bade to cast his rod before the people and to let it turn into a serpent, and return unto a rod again; to make his hand leprous and whole again in an instant, by putting it into his bosom and by drawing it out. And Moses showed these signs in the sight of the people, and they believed.^b It would be tedious to recite the stories of Asa, Hezekiah, Joash, &c. These

^a Heb. vi. 18.^b Exod. iv. 31.

were persuaded, by the signs of God, that he would visit them with a mighty deliverance. But there is no deliverance like unto that which is brought to pass for us through the death and bloody passion of Christ. And the two sacraments are the remonstrance of that great salvation, which hath set us free out of the hands of all our enemies.

3. Thirdly: It is meet that great benefits should be fastened to our memories by a sure nail. Therefore God, distrusting man's memory, represents his greatest works of mercy in the ordinances of manifest signs to prevent forgetfulness. The help of some outward mark doth avail by experience, to bring that to mind that else would have slipped away. As, upon occasion, we use to tie a thread about our fingers, or to unloose the gemmal of a ring, to make us mindful of a promise or some weighty business.

4. Fourthly: Though all our worship must hold its tenure, as it were, *in capite* from the Spirit, if we hope to have it acceptable to God, yet we are better capable of such worship by the opportunity of material conveyances. Only angels and blessed souls in heaven can serve God in the pure and immaterial zeal of their mind. But while we are clothed with flesh, the mind receives all it takes in from bodily objects; and what passeth in by the pipes of the senses, it is connatural to us to apprehend with more tenacity, and fast hold.

Finally: As Christ descended into the womb of his mother, to walk with us upon earth; so God has vouchsafed to offer his word and promise to us in the creatures of the earth; setting a seal unto the word, which makes

the patent very valid, and of force and comfort. For if a commandment of promise were remarkable, that of honouring our parents, “the first commandment of promise” in the second table^a, much more is a seal and sacrament of promise remarkable. Doubt not, then, but as faith is our hand to receive Christ, so the sacraments are, as it were, God’s hands to give him unto us. .

^a Ephes. vi. 2.

OF THE NAME, AUTHOR, FORCE, AND NECESSITY OF SACRAMENTS.

[RICHARD HOOKER.]

L. INSTRUCTION and prayer, whereof we have hitherto spoken, are duties which serve as elements, parts, or principles to the rest that follow ; in which number the sacraments of the Church are chief. The Church is to us that very mother of our new birth^a, in whose bowels we are all bred, at whose breasts we receive nourishment. As many therefore as are apparently to our judgment born of God, they have the seed of their regeneration by the ministry of the Church which useth to that end and purpose not only the word, but the sacraments, both having generative force and virtue.

As oft as we mention a sacrament properly understood, (for in the writings of the ancient fathers all articles which are peculiar to Christian faith, all duties of religion containing that which sense or natural reason cannot of itself discern, are most commonly named sacraments,) our restraint of the word to some few principal divine ceremonies importeth in every such ceremony two things: the substance of the ceremony

^a Gal. iv. 26. Isa. liv. 3.

itself, which is visible; and, besides that, somewhat else more secret, in reference whereunto we conceive that ceremony to be a sacrament. For we all admire and honour the holy sacraments, not respecting so much the service which we do unto God in receiving them, as the dignity of that sacred and secret gift which we thereby receive from God. Seeing that sacraments therefore consist altogether in relation to some such gift or grace supernatural as only God can bestow, how should any but the Church administer those ceremonies as sacraments which are not thought to be sacraments by any but by the Church?

There is in sacraments to be observed their force and their form of administration. Upon their force their necessity dependeth. So that how they are necessary we cannot discern till we see how effectual they are. When sacraments are said to be visible signs of invisible grace, we thereby conceive how grace is indeed the very end for which these heavenly mysteries were instituted; and besides sundry other properties observed in them, the matter whereof they consist is such as signifieth, figureth, and representeth their end. But still their efficacy resteth obscure to our understanding, except we search somewhat more distinctly what grace in particular that is whereunto they are referred, and what manner of operation they have towards it.

The use of sacraments is but only in this life, yet so that here they concern a far better life than this, and are for that cause accompanied with "grace which worketh salvation." Sacraments are the powerful in-

struments of God to eternal life. For as our natural life consisteth in the union of the body with the soul, so our life supernatural in the union of the soul with God. And forasmuch as there is no union of God with man^a without that mean between both which is both, it seemeth requisite that we first consider how God is in Christ, then how Christ is in us, and how the sacraments do serve to make us partakers of Christ.

LVII. It greatly offendeth, that some, when they labour to show the use of the holy sacraments, assign unto them no end but only to teach the mind, by other senses, that which the word doth teach by hearing. Whereupon, how easily neglect and careless regard of so heavenly mysteries may follow, we see in part by some experience had of those men with whom that opinion is most strong. For where the word of God may be heard, which teacheth with much more expedition and more full explication any thing we have to learn, if all the benefit we reap by sacraments be instruction, they which at all times have opportunity of using the better mean to that purpose will surely hold the worse in less estimation. And unto infants, which are not capable of instruction, who would not think it a mere superfluity that any sacrament is administered, if to administer the sacraments be but to teach receivers what God doth for them? There is of sacraments, therefore, undoubtedly some other more excellent and heavenly use.

^a Tertull. de Trinit. "Oportebat Deum carnem fieri, ut in semetipso concordiam confibularet terrenorum pariter atque cælestium, dum utriusque partis in se connectens pignora, et Deum pariter homini et hominem Deo copularet."

Sacraments, by reason of their mixed nature, are more diversely interpreted and disputed of than any other part of religion besides, for that in so great store of properties belonging to the selfsame thing, as every man's wit hath taken hold of some especial consideration above the rest, so they have accordingly seemed one to cross another as touching their several opinions about the necessity of sacraments, whereas in truth their disagreement is not great. For let respect be had to the duty which every communicant doth undertake, and we may well determine concerning the use of sacraments, that they serve as bonds of obedience to God, strict obligations to the mutual exercise of Christian charity, provocations to godliness, preservations from sin, memorials of the principal benefits of Christ; respect the time of their institution, and it thereby appeareth that God hath annexed them for ever unto the New Testament, as other rites were before with the Old; regard the weakness which is in us, and they are warrants for the more security of our belief; compare the receivers of them with such as receive them not, and sacraments are marks of distinction to separate God's own from strangers: so that in all these respects, they are found to be most necessary.

But their chiefest force and virtue consisteth not herein so much as in that they are heavenly ceremonies, which God hath sanctified and ordained to be administered in his Church, first, as marks whereby to know when God doth impart the vital or saving grace of Christ unto all that are capable thereof; and, secondly, as means conditional which God requireth in

them unto whom he imparteth grace. For, sith God in himself is invisible, and cannot by us be discerned working; therefore, when it seemeth good in the eyes of his heavenly wisdom, that men for some special intent and purpose should take notice of his glorious presence, he giveth them some plain and sensible token whereby to know what they cannot see. For Moses to see God, and live, was impossible; yet Moses by fire knew where the glory of God extraordinarily was present.^a The angel, by whom God endued the waters of the pool called Bethesda with supernatural virtue to heal, was not seen of any, yet the time of the angel's presence known, by the troubled motions of the waters themselves.^b The Apostles, by fiery tongues, which they saw, were admonished when the Spirit, which they could not behold, was upon them.^c In like manner it is with us. Christ and his Holy Spirit, with all their blessed effects, though entering into the soul of man we are not able to apprehend or express how, do notwithstanding give notice of the times when they use to make their access, because it pleaseth Almighty God to communicate by sensible means those blessings which are incomprehensible.

Seeing, therefore, that grace is a consequent of sacraments, a thing which accompanieth them as their end, a benefit which he that hath receiveth from God himself, the author of sacraments, and not from any other natural or supernatural quality in them, it may be hereby both understood that sacraments are neces-

^a Exod. iii. 2.^b John, v. 4.^c Acts, ii. 3.

sary, and that the manner of their necessity to life supernatural is not in all respects as food unto natural life; because they contain in themselves no vital force or efficacy, they are not physical but moral instruments of salvation, duties of service and worship, which unless we perform as the Author of grace requireth, they are unprofitable. For all receive not the grace of God which receive the sacraments of his grace; neither is it ordinarily his will to bestow the grace of sacraments on any, but by the sacraments; which grace also they that receive by sacraments or with sacraments, receive it from him and not from them. For of sacraments the very same is true which Solomon's wisdom observeth in the brazen serpent^a, "He that turned towards it was not healed by the thing he saw, but by thee, O Saviour of all."^b

This is, therefore, the necessity of sacraments. That saving grace which Christ originally is or hath for the general good of his whole Church, by sacraments he severally deriveth into every member thereof. Sacraments serve as the instruments of God to that end and purpose, moral instruments, the use whereof is in our hands, the effect in his; for the use we have his express commandment, for the effect his conditional promise: so that, without our obedience to the one, there is of the other no apparent assurance; as, contrariwise, where the signs and sacraments of his grace are not either through contempt unreceived, or received

^a "Spiritus Sancti munus est gratiam implere mysterii." *Ambros. in Luc. cap. iii.* "Sanctificatis elementis effectum non propria ipsorum natura præbet, sed virtus divina potentius operatur." *Cypr. de Chrism.*

^b *Wisd. xvi. 7.*

with contempt, we are not to doubt but that they really give what they promise, and are what they signify. For we take not baptism nor the eucharist for bare resemblances or memorials of things absent, neither for naked signs and testimonies assuring us of grace received before, but (as they are indeed and in verity) for means effectual whereby God, when we take the sacraments, delivereth into our hands that grace available unto eternal life, which grace the sacraments represent or signify.^a

There have grown in the doctrine concerning sacraments many difficulties for want of distinct explication what kind or degree of grace doth belong unto each sacrament. For by this it hath come to pass, that the true immediate cause why baptism, and why the supper of our Lord is necessary, few do rightly and distinctly consider. It cannot be denied but sundry the same effects and benefits which grow unto men by the one sacrament may rightly be attributed unto the other. Yet then doth baptism challenge to itself but the incoation of those graces, the consummation whereof dependeth on mysteries ensuing. We receive Christ Jesus in baptism once, as the first beginner; in the eucharist often, as being by continual degrees the finisher of our life. By baptism, therefore, we receive Christ Jesus, and from him that saving grace which is proper unto baptism. By the other sacrament we re-

^a "Dum homini bonum invisibile redditur, foris ei ejusdem significatio per species visibiles adhibetur, ut foris excitetur et intus reparetur. In ipsa vasis specie virtus exprimitur medicinæ." *Hugo de Sacram.* lib. 1. cap. 3. "Si ergo vasa sunt spiritualis gratiæ sacramenta, non ex suo sanant, quia vasa ægrotum non curant, sed medicina." *Idem*, lib. 1. c. 4.

ceive him also, imparting therein himself and that grace which the eucharist properly bestoweth. So that each sacrament having both that which is general or common, and that also which is peculiar unto itself, we may hereby gather that the participation of Christ, which properly belongeth to any one sacrament, is not otherwise to be obtained but by the sacrament whereunto it is proper.

BAPTISM.

ON BAPTISM.^a

[ISAAC BARROW, D.D.]

THERE were, as the Apostle to the Hebrews telleth us^b, in sacred use among the Jews, διάφοροι βαπτισμοί, several kinds of baptism. The learned in their laws and customs^c teach, that they never did receive any person into their covenant, whether that which was more strict (to which natural Jews and “proselytes of righteousness” were tied), or that which was more lax (with which strangers and “proselytes of the gate” did comply), without a baptism. And that priests and Levites, entering into their office, were to be sanctified by washing with water, we see plainly prescribed in their law^d; likewise that all persons who had contracted any kind of defilement were purified by the like ceremony, particularly children new born, is expressed there.^e Moreover, that it was in use for persons who were conscious to themselves of having transgressed God’s law, being in God’s name invited by some person of eminent authority (a prophet, or like a prophet, one commissioned by God) unto repentance and amendment of life, to be washed by him, in testi-

^a Βαπτισμῶν διδαχή. Heb. vi. 2.^b Heb. ix. 10.^c Seld. de Synedriis.^d Exod. xxix. 4. Num. viii. 6.^e Levit. xv. 8. 16. 18. 27. ; xxii. 6. Num. xix. 7, &c. Ezek. xvi. 4.

mony of their stedfast purpose to amend, and in hope to obtain pardon from God of their past offences, and to be reinstated in his favour, appears probable by St. John the Baptist's undertaking, and the success thereof.^a For if the manner of his proceeding had been altogether unusual and unknown, so many, it seems, would not so readily (without any stir or obstacle) have complied therewith, especially among the Scribes and Pharisees, those zealous adherents to traditionary practice, who, to maintain their credit and interest with the people, were so averse from all appearance of novelty. This practice, then, of washing, in so many cases, and to so many purposes, customary among God's people, to signify men's entering into a new state or course of life, being withal most apt and proper for his design, our blessed Saviour, who never favoured needless innovations, was pleased to assume and impose upon the disciples and followers of his religion, accommodating it to those holy purposes, which we shall now endeavour to declare.

What the action itself enjoined is, what the manner and form thereof, is apparent by the words of our Lord's institution: "Going forth, therefore," saith he, "teach" (or disciple) "all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things which I have commanded you."^b

The action is baptizing, or immersing in water; the object thereof, those persons of any nation whom his ministers can by their instruction and persuasion render

^a John, i. 25. 33.

^b Mat. xxviii. 19. Mark, xvi. 15.

disciples ; that is, such as do sincerely believe the truth of his doctrine, and seriously resolve to obey his commandments. It is performed in the name, that is, it is ministered by the authority, and bears special relation unto the persons of the blessed Trinity, as the chief objects of the faith professed, and the sole objects of the obedience undertaken therein ; as exhibiting gracious favours unto the person baptized, and as receiving special obligations from him.

Such is the action itself declared to be : the mystery thereof consists in its being a notable sign to represent, and an authentic seal to ratify, the collation then made of certain great benefits to us, and our undertaking corresponding duties toward God.

The benefits which God then signifies, and (upon due terms) engageth to confer on us, are these : —

1. The purgation or absolution of us from the guilt of past offences, by a free and full remission of them, (the which, washing by water, cleansing from all stains, doth most appositely represent,) and, consequently, God's being reconciled unto us, his receiving us into a state of grace and favour, his freely justifying us, that is, looking upon us, or treating us as just and innocent persons, although before we stood guilty of heinous sins, and thereupon liable to grievous punishments ; — that these benefits are conferred in baptism, many places of Scripture plainly show, and the primitive Church with most firm and unanimous consent did believe.^a “ And now,” said Ananias to St. Paul, “ why dost thou

^a Vid. Just. Apol. 2. Tertul. de Bapt., &c.

tarry? Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins^a:" and, "Repent," saith St. Peter, preaching to the Jews, "and let every one of you be baptized for the remission of sins^b:" and, "Christ," saith St. Paul again to the Ephesians, "loved his Church, and delivered himself for it, that he might sanctify it, purging it by the washing of water^c;" *ἐν ῥήματι*; that is, he effectually, in baptism, consigned to the members of his Church that mercy and remission of sins which he purchased and merited by his passion. And again: "Such," saith he to the Corinthians, "were some of you" (that is, ye were persons guilty of heinous sins); "but ye have been washed, ye have been sanctified, ye have been justified in the name of our Lord, and by the Spirit of our God^d;" where, having been washed in Christ's name doth (in congruity with what is said in other places) denote baptism in his name; being sanctified and justified do express the first benefits accompanying that baptism: and, indeed, wherever a general remission of sins, or a full sanctification or consecration, and justification of men's persons in God's sight, are mentioned, that remission of sins, that separation or dedication unto God's service, that reception into grace, which are consigned in baptism, are, I conceive, understood; there being no other season or occasion wherein, ordinarily and visibly, God doth exhibit those benefits.

It may be demanded how children^e, by reason of their innocent age, are capable of these benefits; how

^a Acts, xxii. 16. ^b Acts, ii. 38. ^c Eph. v. 26. ^d 1 Cor. vi. 11.

^e "Quid festinat innocens ætas ad remissionem peccatorum?" *Tertul.*

they can be pardoned who never had offended ; how they can be justified who never were capable of being unjust ? I briefly answer, that because they come from that race which by sin had forfeited God's favour, and had alienated itself from him ; because, also, they have in them those seeds of pravity from which afterward, certainly, life continuing (without God's restraining grace), will sprout forth innumerable evil actions ; therefore, that God, overlooking all the defects of their nature^a, both relative and absolute, or personal, doth assume them into his special favour, is no small benefit to them, answerable to the remission of actual sin, and restitution from the state consequent thereon in others.

2. In baptism, the gift of God's Holy Spirit is conferred, qualifying us for the state into which we then come, and enabling us to perform the duties we then undertake, which otherwise we should be unable to perform ; for purification of our hearts from vicious inclinations and desires ; for begetting holy dispositions and affections in our souls ; for to guide and instruct us, to sustain and strengthen us, to encourage and comfort us in all the course of Christian piety ; the which effects are well also figured by water, which purifieth things both from inherent and adherent filth. That this benefit is annexed to baptism the Scripture also teacheth us. " Be baptized," saith St. Peter, " in the name of Christ, to the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost^b : " *εἰς τὸ ἐν πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν* ;

^a " Impletur apud nos Spiritu Sancto puerorum innocens ætas," &c. *Cypr. Epist. 10.*

^b Acts, ii. 38.

we, “being baptized in one body, are made to drink of one Spirit,” saith St. Paul.^a And with the “laver of regeneration,” St. Paul again joineth the “renovation of the Holy Ghost.”^b And it is represented as an advantage of our Saviour’s baptism above that of John, that our Lord not only baptized “with water to repentance,” but with “the Holy Ghost and fire.”^c

Some preventing operations of the Holy Ghost (whereby God freely draweth men to Christianity, persuading their minds to assent thereto, inspiring their hearts with resolutions to comply with it) do precede baptism: but a more full communication thereof, (due by compact, assured by promise,) for the confirming and maintaining us in the firm belief and constant practice of Christianity, is consequent thereon. “After ye had believed, ye were sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise^d,” saith St. Paul. To signify which benefit then conferred, the ancient Christians did to baptism annex the chrism, or holy unction, signifying the collation of that healing and cheering Spirit to the baptized person; that which St. Paul may seem to respect when he saith, “He that establisheth” or confirmeth “us with you into Christ, and who hath anointed us, is God; who also hath sealed us, and hath given us the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts.”^e

3. With those gifts is connected the benefit of regeneration, implying our entrance into a new state and course of life; being endowed with new faculties, dis-

^a 1 Cor. xii. 13.

^b Λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας, ἀνακαίνωσις πνεύματος ἁγίου. Tit. iii. 5.

^c Mat. iii. 11.

^d Eph. i. 14.

^e 2 Cor. i. 21.

positions, and capacities of souls; becoming new creatures and new men, as it were, “renewed after the likeness of God in righteousness and true holiness^a”; our being sanctified in our hearts and lives, being mortified to fleshly lusts and wordly affections, being quickened to a spiritual life and heavenly conversation: in short, becoming, in relation and in disposition of mind, the children of God. This the matter and the action of baptism do set out: for as children new born (for cleansing them from impurities adherent from the womb), both among the Jews and other people, were wont to be washed^b, so are we in baptism, signifying our purification from natural and wordly defilements; the mersion also in water, and the emersion thence, doth figure our death to the former and receiving to a new life. Whence baptism is by St. Paul called “the laver of regeneration^c”; and our Lord saith, that “if a man be not born again of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God^d”; that is, every one becoming a Christian is by baptism regenerated, or put into a new state of life, getteth new dispositions of soul, and new relations to God. “Ye are all,” saith St. Paul, “the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus^e”; that is, by embracing his doctrine, and submitting to his law professedly in baptism. And, “We,” saith St. Paul again, “are buried with Christ through baptism unto death; that as Christ was raised from the

^a Eph. ii. 22, 23, 24. Col. iii. 10. 2 Cor. v. 17.

^b Ezek. xvi. 4. Λούσασα καὶ ἐμπλήσασα γάλακτι. Theocr.

^c Tit. iii. 5.

^d John, iii. 5.

^e Gal. iii. 26.

dead by the glory of the Father, so also we should walk in newness of life.”^a

4. With these benefits is conjoined that of being inserted into God’s Church, his family, the number of his chosen people, the mystical body of Christ, whereby we become entitled to the privileges and immunities of that heavenly corporation. “We,” saith St. Paul, “have been all baptized in one Spirit into one body^b,” the mystical body of Christ: and, “So many of you,” saith he again, “as have been baptized into Christ,” into Christ mystical, or the Church, “have put on Christ; and ye are,” adds he, “all one in Christ Jesus.”^c As proselytes among the Jews by baptism were admitted unto the communion and privileges of the Jewish, so thereby are we received into the like communion and privileges of the Christian, far more excellent society.

5. In consequence of these things, there is with baptism conferred a capacity of, a title unto, an assurance (under condition of persevering in faith and obedience to our Lord) of, eternal life and salvation. We are therein, in St. Peter’s words, “regenerated unto a lively hope of an incorruptible inheritance, by that resurrection of Christ^d,” which is represented to us in this action; and so therein applied, as to beget in us a title and a hope to rise again in like manner to a blissful life: whence we are said therein to rise with him; “Being,” saith St. Paul, “buried with him in baptism, wherein also we were raised again^e:” whence by the two

^a Rom. vi. 4. Col. ii. 12.

^c Gal. iii. 27.

^d 1 Pet. i. 2.

^b 1 Cor. xii. 13.

^e Col. ii. 12.

great Apostles baptism is said to save us. "Baptism," saith St. Peter, the antitype of the delivery in the flood, "doth save us^a;" that is, admitteth us into the ark, putteth us into the sure way of salvation. And, "God," saith St. Paul, "according to his mercy saved us, by the laver of regeneration^b:" and, "He that shall believe, and shall be baptized, shall be saved^c," is our Saviour's own word and promise. Shall be saved; that is, shall be put into a state and way of salvation; continuing in which state, proceeding in which way, he assuredly shall be saved; for faith there denoteth perseverance in faith, and baptism implieth performance of the conditions therein undertaken: which next is to be considered.

For as this holy rite signifieth and sealeth God's colation of so many great benefits on us, so it also implieth, and, on our part, ratifieth our obligation, then in an especial manner commencing, to several most important duties toward him. It implieth that we are in mind fully persuaded concerning the truth of that doctrine which God the Father revealed by his blessed Son, and confirmed by the miraculous operation of the Holy Ghost; we therein profess our humble and thankful embracing the overtures of mercy and grace, purchased for us by our Saviour's meritorious undertaking and performances, the which are then exhibited and tendered to us; we therein declare our hearty resolution to forsake all wicked courses of life, repugnant to the doctrine and law of Christ; fully to conform our lives to his will, living thereafter in all piety, righteousness,

^a 1 Pet. iii. 21,^b Tit. iii. 5,^c Mark, xvi. 16.

and sobriety, as loyal subjects, faithful servants, and dutiful children to God : in brief, we therein are bound, renouncing all erroneous principles, all vicious inclinations, and all other engagements whatever, entirely to devote ourselves to the faith and obedience of God the Father, our glorious and good Maker ; of God the Son, our gracious Redeemer ; of God the Holy Ghost, our blessed Guide, Assistant, Advocate, and Comforter : these are the duties antecedent unto, and concomitant of, our baptism (immediately and formally required of those who are capable of performing them, mediately and virtually of them who are not), the which are signified by our being baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity.

These duties the Scripture commonly expresseth by the word faith and repentance ; sometimes singly, sometimes conjunctly. “ If,” said Philip to the eunuch^a, “ thou believest with thy heart, it is lawful ” (for thee to be baptized). Faith was an indispensable condition prerequisite thereto. And, “ Repent,” saith St. Peter^b, “ and let every one of you be baptized.” Repentance also was necessary to precede it. Indeed, both these (as they are meant in this case) do, in effect, signify the same : each importeth a being renewed in mind, in judgment, in will, in affection ; a serious embracing of Christ’s doctrine, and a stedfast resolution to adhere thereto in practice. Hence are those effects or consequences attributed to faith : justifying us, reconciling and bringing us near to God, saving us ; because it is the necessary condition required by God, and by him

^a Acts, viii. 37.

^b Acts, ii. 38.

accepted, that we may be capable of those benefits conferred in baptism; the same being also referred to that repentance, or change of mind, which must accompany our entrance into Christianity; that good conscience with which we stipulate a perpetual devotion and obedience to God; the which therefore doth, as St. Peter telleth us, “save us;” it contributing to our salvation as a duty necessarily required in order thereto. This is that death to sin and resurrection to righteousness, that being buried with Christ and rising again with him, so as to walk in newness of life, which the baptismal action signifies, and which we then really undertake to perform.^a

And as such are the duties preceding or accompanying baptism, so making good the engagements they contain, constantly persisting in them, maintaining and improving them, are duties necessarily consequent thereupon. “Having,” saith the Apostle, “had our bodies washed with pure water, let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering.”^b We should, indeed, continually remember, frequently and seriously consider, what in so solemn a manner we (upon so valuable considerations) did then undertake, promise, and vow to God, diligently striving to perform it; for violating our part of the covenant and stipulation then made, by apostasy in profession or practice from God and goodness, we certainly must forfeit those ines-

^a Acts, xxvi. 14. ; v. 31. ; xx. 21. ; xxvi. 20. ; iii. 19. ; xvii. 30. Rom. v. 1, 2. ; iii. 25. ; ii. 4. Gal. ii. 16. ; iii. 8. Heb. x. 39. Eph. ii. 8. ; iii. 12. 2 Thess. ii. 13. 2 Tim. ii. 25. 2 Pet. iii. 9. Matt. ix. 13. Luke, xxiv. 47. Mark, ii. 17. 1 Pet. iii. 21. Rom. vi. 3, 4, &c.

^b Heb. x. 23. 2. Pet. iii. 17.

timable benefits which God otherwise hath tied himself to bestow; the pardon of our sins, the favour of God, the being members of Christ, the grace, guidance, assistance, and comfort of the Holy Spirit; the right unto and hope of salvation. We, so doing, shall not only simply disobey and offend God, but add the highest breach of fidelity to our disobedience, together with the most heinous ingratitude, abusing the greatest grace that could be vouchsafed us. “If we wilfully sin after we have taken the acknowledgment of the truth,” saith the Apostle (meaning that solemn profession of our faith in baptism), “we trample under foot the Son of God, we profane the blood of the covenant, we do despite unto the Spirit of grace^a,” and, incurring so deep guilt, we must expect suitable punishment.

^a Heb. x. 26. 29.

THE MIRACLES OF THE DIVINE MERCY.

[BISHOP TAYLOR.]

PART I.

PSALM lxxxvi. 5.

*For thou, Lord, art good, and ready to forgive, and
plenteous in mercy to all them that call upon thee.*

MAN, having destroyed that which God delighted in, that is, the beauty of his soul, fell into an evil portion, and, being seized upon by the divine justice, grew miserable, and condemned to an incurable sorrow. Poor Adam, being banished and undone, went and lived a sad life in the mountains of India, and turned his face and his prayers towards Paradise; thither he sent his sighs, to that place he directed his devotions, there was his heart now where his felicity sometimes had been: but he knew not how to return thither, for God was his enemy, and by many of his attributes opposed himself against him. God's power was armed against him; and poor man, whom a fly or a fish could kill, was assaulted and beaten with a sword of fire in the hand of a cherubim. God's eye watched him, his omniscience was man's accuser, his severity was the judge,

his justice the executioner. It was a mighty calamity that man was to undergo, when he that made him armed himself against his creature, which would have died or turned to nothing, if he had but withdrawn the miracles and the almightiness of his power: if God had taken his arm from under him, man had perished. But it was therefore a greater evil when God laid his arm upon him and against him, and seemed to support him, that he might be longer killing him. In the midst of these sadnesses God remembered his own creature, and pitied it, and by his mercy rescued him from the hand of his power, and the sword of his justice, and the guilt of his punishment, and the disorder of his sin, and placed him in that order of good things where he ought to have stood. It was mercy that preserved the noblest of God's creatures here below: he who stood condemned and undone under all the other attributes of God, was only saved and rescued by his mercy: that it may be evident that God's mercy is above all his works, and above all ours, greater than the creation, and greater than our sins. "As is his majesty, so is his mercy;" that is, without measures and without rules, sitting in heaven and filling all the world; calling for a duty that he may give a blessing, making man that he may save him, punishing him that he may preserve him. And God's justice bowed down to his mercy, and all his power passed into mercy, and his omniscience converted into care and watchfulness, into providence and observation for man's avail; and heaven gave its influence for man, and rained showers for our food and drink; and the attributes and acts of God sat at the foot of mercy, and all that mercy de-

scended upon the head of man. For so the light of the world in the morning of the creation was spread abroad like a curtain, and dwelt no where, but filled the *expansum* with a dissemination great as the unfoldings of the air's looser garment, or the wilder fringes of the fire, without knots, or order, or combination; but God gathered the beams in his hand, and united them into a globe of fire, and all the light of the world became the body of the sun; and he lent some to his weaker sister that walks in the night, and guides a traveller, and teaches him to distinguish a house from a river, or a rock from a plain field. So is the mercy of God a vast *expansum* and a huge ocean; from eternal ages it dwelt round about the throne of God, and it filled all that infinite distance and space that hath no measures but the will of God: until God, desiring to communicate that excellency and make it relative, created angels, that he might have persons capable of huge gifts; and man, who he knew would need forgiveness. For so the angels, our elder brothers, dwelt for ever in the house of their Father, and never brake his commandments; but we, the younger, like prodigals, forsook our Father's house, and went into a strange country, and followed stranger courses, and spent the portion of our nature, and forfeited all our title to the family, and came to need another portion. For, ever since the fall of Adam, who, like an unfortunate man, spent all that a wretched man could need, or a happy man could have, our life is repentance, and forgiveness is all our portion; and though angels were objects of God's bounty, yet man only is (in proper speaking) the object of his mercy: and the mercy which dwelt in an

infinite circle, became confined to a little ring, and dwelt here below, and here shall dwell below, till it hath carried all God's portion up to heaven, where it shall reign and glory upon our crowned heads for ever and ever.

But for him that considers God's mercies, and dwells awhile in that depth, it is hard not to talk wildly, and without art and order of discoursings. Saint Peter talked he knew not what when he entered into a cloud with Jesus upon Mount Tabor, though it passed over him like the little curtains that ride upon the north wind, and pass between the sun and us. And when we converse with a light greater than the sun, and taste a sweetness more delicious than the dew of heaven, and in our thoughts entertain the ravishments and harmony of that atonement which reconciles God to man, and man to felicity, it will be more easily pardoned, if we should be like persons that admire much, and say but little: and, indeed, we can best confess the glories of the Lord by dazzled eyes, and a stammering tongue, and a heart overcharged with the miracles of this infinity. For so those little drops that run over, though they be not much in themselves, yet they tell that the vessel was full, and could express the greatness of the shower no otherwise but by spilling, and inartificial expressions and runnings over. But because I have undertaken to tell the drops of the ocean, and to span the measures of eternity, I must do it by the great lines of revelation and experience, and tell concerning God's mercy as we do concerning God himself, that he is that great Fountain of which we all drink, and the

great Rock of which we all eat, and on which we all dwell, and under whose shadow we all are refreshed. God's mercy is all this: and we can only draw the great lines of it, and reckon the constellations of our hemisphere instead of telling the number of the stars; we only can reckon what we feel and what we live by: and though there be in every one of these lines of life enough to engage us for ever to do God service, and to give him praises; yet it is certain there are very many mercies of God upon us, and towards us, and concerning us, which we neither feel, nor see, nor understand as yet; but yet we are blessed by them, and are preserved and secure, and we shall then know them when we come to give God thanks in the festivities of an eternal sabbath. But that I may confine my discourse into order, since the subject of it cannot, I consider, —

1. That mercy being an emanation of the Divine goodness upon us, supposes us and found us miserable. In this account concerning the mercies of God I must not reckon the miracles and graces of the creation, or any thing of the nature of man, nor tell how great an endearment God passed upon us that he made us men, capable of felicity, apted with rare instruments of discourse and reason, passions and desires, notices of sense and reflections upon that sense; that we have not the deformity of a crocodile, nor the motion of a worm, nor the hunger of a wolf, nor the wildness of a tiger, nor the birth of vipers, nor the life of flies, nor the death of serpents.

Our excellent bodies and useful faculties, the upright motion and the tenacious hand, the fair appetites and

proportioned satisfactions, our speech and our perceptions, our acts of life, the rare invention of letters, and the use of writing, and speaking at distance, the intervals of rest and labour, (either of which, if they were perpetual, would be intolerable,) the needs of nature and the provisions of Providence, sleep and business, refreshments of the body and entertainments of the soul; these are to be reckoned as acts of bounty rather than mercy: God gave us these when he made us, and before we needed mercy; these were portions of our nature, or provided to supply our consequent necessities: but when we forfeited all God's favour by our sins, then that they were continued or restored to us became a mercy, and therefore ought to be reckoned upon this new account. For it was a rare mercy that we were suffered to live at all, or that the anger of God did permit to us one blessing, that he did punish us so gently: but when the rack is changed into an axe, and the axe into an imprisonment, and the imprisonment changed into an enlargement, and the enlargement into an entertainment in the family, and this entertainment passes on to an adoption; these are steps of a mighty favour and perfect redemption from our sin, and the returning back our own goods is a gift, and a perfect donative sweetened by the apprehensions of the calamity from whence every lesser punishment began to free us. And thus it was that God punished us, and visited the sin of Adam upon his posterity. He threatened we should die, and so we did, but not so as we deserved: we waited for death, and stood sentenced, and are daily summoned by sicknesses and uneasiness; and every day is a new reprieve, and brings a new

favour, certain as the revolution of the sun upon that day; and at last, when we must die by the irreversible decree, that death is changed into a sleep, and that sleep is in the bosom of Christ, and there dwells all peace and security, and it shall pass forth into glories and felicities. We looked for a judge, and behold a Saviour; we feared an accuser, and behold an advocate; we sat down in sorrow, and rise in joy: we leaned upon rhubarb and aloes, and our aprons were made of the sharp leaves of Indian fig-trees, and so we fed, and so were clothed; but the rhubarb proved medicinal, and the rough leaf of the tree brought its fruit wrapped up in its foldings; and round about our dwellings was planted a hedge of thorns and bundles of thistles, the aconite and the briony, the night-shade and the poppy; and at the root of these grew the healing plantain, which, rising up into a tallness by the friendly invitation of heavenly influence, turned about the tree of the cross, and cured the wounds of the thorns, and the curse of the thistles, and the malediction of man, and the wrath of God. *Si sic irascitur, quomodo convivatur?* If God be thus kind when he is angry, what is he when he feasts us with caresses of his more tender kindness? All that God restored to us after the forfeiture of Adam, grew to be a double kindness; for it became the expression of a bounty which knew not how to repent, a graciousness that was not to be altered, though we were; and that was it which we needed. That is the first general: all the bounties of the creation became mercies to us, when God continued them to us, and restored them after they were forfeit.

2. But as a circle begins every where and ends no where, so do the mercies of God: after all this huge progress, now it began anew: "God is good and gracious," and "God is ready to forgive." Now that he had once more made us capable of mercies, God had what he desired, and what he could rejoice in; something upon which he might pour forth his mercies. And, by the way, this I shall observe (for I cannot but speak without art when I speak of that which hath no measure), God made us capable of one sort of his mercies, and we made ourselves capable of another. "God is good and gracious;" that is, desirous to give great gifts; and of this God made us receptive, first, by giving us natural possibilities, that is, by giving those gifts, he made us capable of more; and next, by restoring us to his favour, that he might not, by our provocations, be hindered from raining down his mercies. But "God" is also "ready to forgive:" and of this kind of mercy we made ourselves capable, even by not deserving it. Our sin made way for his grace, and our infirmities called upon his pity; and because we sinned we became miserable, and because we were miserable we became pitiable; and this opened the other treasure of his mercy: that because our "sin abounds," his "grace may superabound." In this method we must confine our thoughts:

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|---------------|--|--|
| 1. Giving. | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{"Thou, Lord, art} \\ \text{good, and ready} \\ \text{to forgive."} \end{array} \right\}$ | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{"Plenteous in} \\ \text{mercy to all them} \\ \text{that call upon} \\ \text{thee."} \end{array} \right\}$ |
| 2. Forgiving. | | |

3. God's mercies, or the mercies of his giving, came

first upon us by mending of our nature: for the ignorance we fell into is instructed, and better learned in spiritual notices than Adam's morning knowledge in paradise; our appetites are made subordinate to the spirit, and the liberty of our wills is improved, having "the liberty of the sons of God;" and Christ hath done us more grace and advantage than we lost in Adam; and as man lost paradise, and got heaven, so he lost the integrity of the first, and got the perfection of the second Adam. His "living soul" is changed into a "quickening spirit;" our discerning faculties are filled with the spirit of faith, and our passions and desires are entertained with hope, and our election is sanctified with charity, and our first life of a temporal possession is passed into a better, a life of spiritual expectations; and though our first parent was forbidden it, yet we live of the fruits of "the tree of life." But I instance in two great things in which human nature is greatly advanced and passed on to greater perfections. The first is, that besides body and soul, which was the sum total of Adam's constitution, God hath superadded to us a third principle, the beginner of a better life, I mean the Spirit^a; so that now man hath a spiritual and celestial nature breathed into him, and the old man, that is, the old constitution, is the least part, and in its proper operation is dead, or dying; but the new man is that which gives denomination, life, motion, and proper actions to a Christian, and that is "renewed in us day by day." But, secondly, human nature is so highly exalted and mended by that mercy which God sent

^a Vide Sermon II.

immediately upon the fall of Adam, the promise of Christ, that when he did come and actuate the purposes of this mission, and ascended up into heaven, he carried human nature above the seats of angels, to the place whither "Lucifer the son of the morning" aspired to ascend, but in his attempt fell into hell. For so said the prophet: "The son of the morning said, I will ascend into heaven, and sit in the sides of the north," that is, the throne of Jesus, seated in the east, called "the sides" or obliquity "of the north." And as the seating of his human nature in that glorious seat brought to him all adoration, and the majesty of God, and the greatest of his exaltation, so it was so great an advancement to us, that all the angels of heaven take notice of it, and feel a change in the appendage of their condition: not that they are lessened, but that we, who in nature are less than angels, have a relative dignity greater, and an equal honour of being fellow-servants. This mystery is plain in Scripture, and the real effect of it we read in both the Testaments. When Manoah the father of Sampson saw an angel, he worshipped him^a; and in the Old Testament it was esteemed lawful, for they were the lieutenants of God, sent with the impresses of his majesty, and took in his name the homage from us, who then were so much their inferiors: but when the man Christ Jesus was exalted, and made the Lord of all the angels, then they became our fellow servants, and might not receive worship from any of the servants of Jesus, especially from prophets and martyrs, and those that are ministers

^a Judges, xiii.

of “the testimony of Jesus;” and therefore, when an angel appeared to St. John, and he, according to the custom of the Jews, fell down and worshipped him, as not yet knowing or not considering anything to the contrary, the angel reproved him, saying, “See thou do it not; I am thy fellow servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book: worship God^a:” or, as St. Cyprian read it^b, worship Jesus. God and man are now only capable of worship; but no angel. God, essentially; man, in the person of Christ, and in the exaltation of our great Redeemer; but angels not so high, and therefore not capable of any religious worship. And this dignity of man St. Gregory explicates fully^c: *Quid est quod ante Redemptoris adventum adorantur ab hominibus (angeli) et tacent, postmodum verò adorari refugiant?* Why did the angels of old receive worshippings, and were silent; but in the New Testament decline it, and fear to accept it? *Nisi quòd naturam nostram, quam prius despexerant, postquam hanc super se assumptam aspiciunt, prostratam sibi videri pertimescunt; nec jam sub se velut infirmam contemnere ausi sunt, quam super se, viz. in cœli Rege venerantur.* The reason is, because they, seeing our nature, which they did so lightly value, raised up above them, they fear to see it humbled under them; neither do they any more despise the weakness which themselves worship in the King of heaven. The same, also, is the sense of the gloss of St. Ambrose, Ansbertus, Haymo, Rupertus, and others of old; and Ribera, Salmeron, and Lewis of Granada of late: which being

^a Rev. xxii. 9.^b De bono Patientiæ.^c Homil. 8. in Evangel.

so plainly consonant to the words of the angel, and consigned by the testimony of such men, I the rather note, that those who worship angels, and make religious addresses to them, may see what privilege themselves lose, and how they part with the honour of Christ, who in his nature relative to us is "exalted far above all thrones and principalities and dominions." I need not add lustre to this. It is like the sun, the biggest body of light, and nothing can describe it so well as its own beams; and there is not in nature, or the advantages of honour, anything greater than that we have the issues of that mercy which makes us fellow servants with angels, too much honoured to pay them a religious worship, whose Lord is a man, and he that is their king is our brother.

4. To this, for the likeness of the matter, I add, that the Divine Mercy hath so prosecuted us with the enlargement of his favours, that we are not only fellow ministers and servants with the angels, and in our nature, in the person of Christ, exalted above them; but we also shall be their judges. And if this be not an honour above that of Joseph or Mordecai, an honour beyond all the measures of a man, then there is in honour no degrees, no priority or distances, or characters of fame and nobleness. Christ is the great judge of all the world; his human nature shall then triumph over evil men and evil spirits; then shall the devils, those angels that fell from their first originals, be brought in their chains from their dark prisons, and once be allowed to see the light, that light that shall confound them, while all "that follow the Lamb," and

that are "accounted worthy of that resurrection," shall be assessors in the judgment. "Know ye not," saith St. Paul, "that ye shall judge angels?"^a And Tertullian, speaking concerning devils and accursed spirits (*De cultu fœminarum*), saith, *Hi sunt angeli quos judicaturisumus; hi sunt angeliquibus in lavacro renunciavimus*: those angels which we renounced in baptism, those we shall judge in the day of the Lord's glory, in the great day of recompences. And that the honour may be yet greater, the same day of sentence that condemns the evil angels shall also reward the good, and increase their glory, which because they derive from their Lord and ours, from their king and our elder brother, the King of glories, whose glorious hands shall put the crown upon all our heads, we who shall be servants of that judgment, and some way or other assist in it, have a part of that honour, to be judges of all angels, and of all the world. The effect of these things ought to be this, that we do not by base actions dishonour that nature that sits upon the throne of God, that reigns over angels, that shall sit in judgment upon all the world. It is a great indecency that the son of a king should bear water upon his head, and dress vineyards among the slaves; or to see a wise man, and the guide of his country, drink drunk among the meanest of his servants: but when "members of Christ" shall be made "members of an harlot," and that which rides above a rainbow stoops to an imperious whorish woman; when the soul that is sister to the Lord of angels shall degenerate into the foolishness or rage of a beast, being

^a 1 Cor. vi. 3.

drowned with the blood of the grape, or made mad with passion, or ridiculous with weaker follies, we shall but strip ourselves of that robe of honour with which Christ hath invested and adorned our nature, and carry that portion of humanity which is our own, and which God hath honoured in some capacities above angels, into a portion of an eternal shame, and become less in all senses, and equally disgraced with devils. The shame and sting of this change shall be, that we turned the glories of the divine mercy into the baseness of ingratitude, and the amazement of suffering the divine vengeance. But I pass on.

5. The next order of divine mercies that I shall remark, is also an improvement of our nature, or an appendage to it: for, whereas our constitution is weak, our souls apt to diminution and impede faculties, our bodies to mutilation and imperfection, to blindness and crookedness, to stammering and sorrows, to baldness and deformity, to evil conditions and accidents of body, and to passions and sadness of spirit; God hath, in his infinite mercy, provided for every condition rare supplementaries of comfort and usefulness, to make recompence, and sometimes with an overrunning proportion, for those natural defects which were apt to make our persons otherwise contemptible, and our conditions intolerable. God gives to blind men better memories. For upon this account it is that Ruffinus makes mention of Didymus of Alexandria, who, being blind, was blessed with a rare attention and singular memory, and by prayer, and hearing, and discoursing, came to be one of the most excellent divines of that whole age. And it was

more remarkable in Nicasius Mechliniensis, who, being blockish at his book, in his first childhood fell into accidental blindness, and from thence continually grew to so quick an apprehension and so tenacious a memory, that he became the wonder of his contemporaries, and was chosen rector of the College at Mechlin, and was made licentiate of theology at Lovain, and doctor of both the laws at Cologne, living and dying in great reputation for his rare parts and excellent learning. At the same rate, also, God deals with men in other instances. Want of children he recompenses with freedom from care; and whatsoever evil happens to the body is therefore most commonly single and unaccompanied, because God accepts that evil as a punishment of the sin of the man, or the instrument of his virtue or his security, and it is reckoned as a sufficient antidote. God hath laid a severe law upon all women, “that in sorrow they shall bring forth children;” yet God hath so attempered that sorrow that they think themselves more accursed if they want that sorrow; and they have reason to rejoice in that state, the trouble of which is alleviated by a promise, that “they shall be saved in bearing children.” He that wants one eye hath the force and vigorousness of both united in that which is left him: and whenever any man is afflicted with sorrow, his reason and his religion, himself and all his friends, persons that are civil and persons that are obliged, run in to comfort him; and he may, if he will observe wisely, find so many circumstances of ease and remission, so many designs of Providence and studied favours, such contrivances of collateral advantage and certain reserves

of substantial and proper comfort, that in the whole sum of affairs it often happens that a "single cross is a double blessing," and that, even in a temporal sense, "it is better to go to the house of mourning than of joys and festival egressions." Is not the affliction of poverty better than the prosperity of a great and tempting fortune? Does not wisdom dwell in a mean estate and low spirit, retired thoughts, and under a sad roof? And is it not generally true that sickness itself is appayed with religion and holy thoughts, with pious resolutions and penitential prayers, with returns to God and to sober counsels? And if this be true, that God sends sorrow to cure sin, and affliction be the handmaid to grace, it is also certain that every sad contingency in nature is doubly recompensed with the advantages of religion, besides those intervening refreshments which support the spirit, and refresh its instruments. I shall need to instance but once more in this particular.

God hath sent no greater evil into the world than that "in the sweat of our brows shall we eat our bread;" and in the difficulty and agony, in the sorrows and contention of our souls, we shall "work out our salvation." But see how, in the first of these, God hath outdone his own anger, and defeated the purposes of his wrath by the inundation of his mercy; for this labour and sweat of our brows is so far from being a curse, that without it our very bread would not be so great a blessing. Is it not labour that makes the garlick and the pulse, the sycamore and the cresses, the cheese of the goats and the butter of the sheep, to be savoury and pleasant as the flesh of the roebuck, or the milk of the kine, the

marrow of oxen or the thighs of birds? If it were not for labour, men neither could eat so much, nor relish so pleasantly, nor sleep so soundly, nor be so healthful nor so useful, so strong nor so patient, so noble nor so untempted. And as God hath made us beholden to labour for the purchase of many good things, so the thing itself owes to labour many degrees of its worth and value. And therefore I need not reckon, that besides these advantages, the mercies of God have found out proper and natural remedies for labour: nights to cure the sweat of the day, sleep to ease our watchfulness, rest to alleviate our burdens, and days of religion to procure our rest: and things are so ordered that labour is become a duty, and an act of many virtues, and is not so apt to turn into a sin as its contrary; and is therefore necessary, not only because we need it for making provisions for our life, but even to ease the labour of our rest; there being no greater tediousness of spirit in the world than want of employment, and an unactive life: and the lazy man is not only unprofitable, but also accursed, and he groans under the load of his time, which yet passes over the active man light, as a dream or the feathers of a bird; while the disemployed is a disease, and, like a long sleepless night to himself, and a load unto his country. And therefore, although in this particular God hath been so merciful in this infliction that from the sharpness of the curse a very great part of mankind are freed, and there are myriads of people, good and bad, who do not “eat their bread in the sweat of their brows;” yet this is but an overrunning and an excess of the divine mercy; God did more for us than we did

absolutely need ; for he hath so disposed of the circumstances of this curse that man's affections are so reconciled to it, that they desire it, and are delighted in it ; and so the anger of God is ended in loving-kindness, and the drop of water is lost in the full chalice of the wine, and the curse is gone out into a multiplied blessing.

But, then, for the other part of the severe law and laborious imposition, that we must work out our spiritual interest with the labours of our spirit, seems to most men to be so intolerable, that rather than pass under it they quit their hopes of heaven, and pass into the portion of devils. And what can there be to alleviate this sorrow, that a man shall be perpetually solicited with an impure tempter, and shall carry a flame within him, and all the world is on fire round about him, and every thing brings fuel to the flame ; and full tables are a snare, and empty tables are collateral servants to a lust, and help to blow the fire and kindle the heap of prepared temptations ; and yet a man must not at all taste of the forbidden fruit ; and he must not desire what he cannot choose but desire ; and he must not enjoy whatsoever he does violently covet ; and must never satisfy his appetite in the most violent importunities, but must therefore deny himself, because to do so is extremely troublesome ? This seems to be an art of torture, and a device to punish man with the spirit of agony, and a restless vexation. But this also hath in it a great ingredient of mercy, or rather is nothing else but a heap of mercy in its entire constitution. For if it were not for this, we had nothing of our own to present to God, nothing proportionable to the great rewards of heaven,

but either all men or no man must go thither; for nothing can distinguish man from man in order to beatitude, but choice and election; and nothing can ennoble the choice but love, and nothing can exercise love but difficulty, and nothing can make that difficulty but the contradiction of our appetite, and the crossing of our natural affections. And therefore, whenever any of you are tempted violently, or grow weary in your spirits with resisting the petulancy of temptation, you may be cured, if you will please but to remember and rejoice that now you have something of your own to give to God, something that he will be pleased to accept, something that he hath given thee that thou mayest give it him: for our money and our time, our days of feasting and our days of sorrow, our discourse and our acts of praise, our prayers and our songs, our vows and our offerings, our worshippings and protestations, and whatsoever else can be accounted in the sum of our religion, are only accepted according as they bear along with them portions of our will, and choice of love, and appendant difficulty.

“ Lætius est quoties magno tibi constat honestum.”

So that whoever can complain that he serves God with pains and mortifications, he is troubled because there is a distinction of things such as we call virtue and vice, reward and punishment; and if we will not suffer God to distinguish the first, he will certainly confound the latter; and his portion shall be blackness without variety, and punishment shall be his reward.

6. As an appendage to this instance of divine mercy, we are to account that, not only in nature, but in con-

tingency and emergent events of Providence, God makes compensation to us for all the evils of chance and hostilities of accident, and brings good out of evil; which is that solemn triumph which mercy makes over justice, when it rides upon a cloud, and crowns its darkness with a robe of glorious light. God indeed suffered Joseph to be sold a bond-slave into Egypt; but then it was that God intended to crown and reward his chastity: for by that means he brought him to a fair condition of dwelling, and there gave him a noble trial; he had a brave contention, and he was a conqueror. Then God sent him to prison; but still that was mercy, it was to make way to bring him to Pharaoh's court. And God brought famine upon Canaan, and troubled all the souls of Jacob's family: and there was a plot laid for another mercy; this was to bring them to see and partake of Joseph's glory. And then God brought a great evil upon their posterity, and they groaned under taskmasters: but this God changed into the miracles of his mercy, and suffered them to be afflicted that he might do ten miracles for their sakes, and proclaim to all the world how dear they were to God. And was not the greatest good to mankind brought forth from the greatest treason that ever was committed, the redemption of the world from the fact of Judas; God loving to defeat the malice of man and the arts of the devil by rare emergencies and stratagems of mercy? It is a sad calamity to see a kingdom spoiled, and a church afflicted; the priest slain with the sword, and the blood of nobles mingled with cheaper sand; religion made a cause of trouble,

and the best men most cruelly persecuted ; government confounded, and laws ashamed ; judges decreeing causes in fear and covetousness, and the ministers of holy things setting themselves against all that is sacred, and setting fire upon the fields, and turning in little foxes on purpose to destroy the vineyards. And what shall make recompence for this heap of sorrows, whenever God shall send such swords of fire ? Even the mercies of God, which then will be made public, when we shall hear such afflicted people sing, *in convertendo captivitatem Sion*, with the voice of joy and festival eucharist, among such as keep holy-day ; and when peace shall become sweeter, and dwell the longer. And in the mean time it serves religion, and the affliction shall try the children of God, and God shall crown them, and men shall grow wiser and more holy, and leave their petty interests and take sanctuary in holy living, and be taught temperance by their want, and patience by their suffering, and charity by their persecution, and shall better understand the duty of their relations ; and at last the secret worm that lay at the root of the plant shall be drawn forth, and quite extinguished. For so have I known a luxuriant vine swell into irregular twigs and bold excrescencies, and spend itself in leaves and little rings, and afford but trifling clusters to the winepress, and a faint return to his heart which longed to be refreshed with a full vintage : but when the Lord of the vine had caused the dressers to cut the wilder plant, and made it bleed, it grew temperate in its vain expense of useless leaves, and knotted into fair and juicy bunches, and made accounts of that loss of

blood by the return of fruit. So is an afflicted province cured of its surfeits, and punished for its sins, and bleeds for its long riot, and is left ungoverned for its disobedience, and chastised for its wantonness; and when the sword hath let forth the corrupted blood, and the fire hath purged the rest, then it enters into the double joys of restitution, and gives God thanks for his rod, and confesses the mercies of the Lord in making the smoke to be changed into fire, and the cloud into a perfume, the sword into a staff, and his anger into mercy.

Had not David suffered more, if he had suffered less; and had he not been miserable, unless he had been afflicted? He understood it well, when he said, "It is good for me that I have been afflicted." He that was rival to Crassus when he stood candidate to command the legions in the Parthian war, was much troubled that he missed the dignity; but he saw himself blessed that he escaped the death, and the dishonour of the overthrow, by that time the sad news arrived at Rome. The gentleman at Marseilles cursed his stars that he was absent when the ship set sail to sea, having long waited for a wind and missed it; but he gave thanks to the Providence that blessed him with the cross, when he knew that the ship perished in the voyage, and all the men were drowned. And even those virgins and barren women in Jerusalem that longed to become glad mothers, and for want of children would not be comforted, yet, when Titus sacked the city, found the words of Jesus true: "Blessed is the womb that never bare, and the paps that never gave suck."

And the world being governed with a rare variety and changes of accidents and providence; that which is a misfortune in the particular, in the whole order of things becomes a blessing bigger than we hoped for then when we were angry with God for hindering us to perish in pleasant ways, or when he was contriving to pour upon thy head a mighty blessing. Do not think the judge condemns you when he chides you, nor think to read thy own final sentence by the first half of his words. Stand still, and see how it will be in the whole event of things: let God speak his mind out; for it may be this sad beginning is but an art to bring in, or to make thee to esteem, and entertain, and understand the blessing.

They that love to talk of the mercies of the Lord, and to recount his good things, cannot but have observed that God delights to be called by such appellatives which relate to miserable and afflicted persons: "He is the father of the fatherless," and an "avenger of the widow's cause;" he "standeth at the right hand of the poor, to save his soul from unrighteous judges;" and "he is with us in tribulation." And upon this ground let us account whether mercy be not the greater ingredient in that death and deprivation, when I lose a man, and get God to be my father; and when my weak arm of flesh is cut from my shoulder, and God makes me to lean upon him, and becomes my patron and my guide, my advocate and defender. And if in our greatest misery God's mercy is so conspicuous, what can we suppose him to be in the endearment of his loving-kindness? If his evil be so transparent, well may

we know that upon his face dwells glory, and from his eyes light and perpetual comforts run in channels larger than the returns of the sea, when it is driven and forced faster into its natural course by the violence of a tempest from the north. The sum is this: God intends every accident should minister to virtue, and every virtue is the mother and the nurse of joy, and both of them daughters of the Divine goodness: and therefore, if our sorrows do not pass into comforts, it is besides God's intention; it is because we will not comply with the act of that mercy which would save us by all means and all varieties, by health and by sickness, by the life and by the death of our dearest friends, by what we choose and by what we fear; that as God's providence rules over all chances of things and all designs of men, so his mercy may rule over all his providence.

WHAT COMFORTS FLOW FROM THE SACRAMENT OF BAPTISM.

[JOHN HACKET, D.D.]

BEING past the general survey of visible sacraments, it is time to enter into the consideration of baptism; which God hath exalted to marvellous virtue and consolation, by his omnipotent appointment. The Jews, that first received it, will teach us, that they expected this new and gracious ceremony upon the coming of Christ. For “the priests and Levites sent to ask John, Why baptizest thou, if thou be not the Christ?”^a &c. It seems they had a tradition, that baptism should come into the Church with the Messias; which they derive, as I take it, from two of the prophets. Isaiah^b states out a famous praise of Christ’s kingdom; then it brings in this: “In that day shall the branch of the Lord be beautiful and glorious; when the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughters of Sion, and shall have purged the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof.” The other place is a plain prophecy of Christ’s kingdom^c, and he thus describes it: “Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be cleansed from all your filthiness.” John made way unto this

^a John, i. 25.

^b Isa. iv. 3.

^c Ezek. xxxvi. 25.

sacrament, and it came from heaven; therefore, the "Pharisees rejected the counsel of God, being not baptized of John."^a But in the fulness of the Gospel, Christ confirmed it. For he that made the promise was the only able person to set the seal to ratify it. Except his admired doctrine and his miracles, all things else about Christ did make no show to outward appearances, so he would go no higher in the institution of an outward sign of cleansing and regeneration than to bring the people to a river to be washed, or to a vessel of water to be sprinkled. For faith is drawn through these narrow and abject means, that, like himself, have no comeliness *in specie*; and when we see them, there is no comeliness that we should desire them.^b

Nevertheless, it is fit we should be well taught in the contemplation of the hidden virtue enclosed in baptism, or else we could never think it worth our labour and obedience. Our Common Prayer Book (a storehouse of rare divinity) tells us what is to be expected at that laver for them that come to be baptized.

1. That God hath promised to be the father of the faithful and of their seed, and will most surely perform and keep his promise with them; and by this introduction we are incorporated into the holy congregation. Behold, they whom we love above all others by nature, our children, are naturalized to be the citizens of the heavenly kingdom, and enter into it through this door of grace.

2. Secondly; as God did save Noah and his family

^a Luke, vii. 30.

^b Isa. liii. 2.

from perishing by water, and safely led the children of Israel through the Red Sea, while their enemies were drowned; so the millions of the nations whom God hath not given to Christ for his inheritance, are drowned in their own lusts and corruptions. But, oh what a privilege is it to be among those few that are received into the ark of Christ's Church, to be exempted from the common deluge, and to be the faithful seed of Abraham, led through the channel of the sea, and baptized in the cloud, that went along with them, when the armies of the mighty are mightily consumed!

3. Thirdly; we may gather out of our church-office for baptism, that the everlasting benediction of heavenly washing affords two comforts: it signifies the blood of Christ to cleanse us *per modum pretii*, as the price that was paid to ransom us from death; and the sanctifying of the Holy Spirit to cleanse us *per modum habitûs*, by his inbeing and celestial infusion: and both are put together in one collect: "that all that are baptized may receive remission of sins by spiritual regeneration." "There is no remission of sin without blood^a," says the Apostle, meaning the invaluable blood of the Lamb of God.^b And the heavenly thing is represented by the visible element of water; for there must be some aptitude between the sign and the thing signified, else it were not a sacrament; — that as water washeth away the filth of the body, so the blood of Christ delivereth our souls from the guilt and damnable-ness of sin. "The blood of Christ, his Son, cleanseth us from all sin."^c The metaphor of cleansing must have respect to baptismal

^a Heb. ix. 22.^b Verse 14.^c 1 John, i. 7.

water. Again, "Who loved us, and washed us from our sins in his blood."^a Where the Scripture speaks of washing from sin, it must be taken from the water of baptism, figuring the virtue of Christ's blood, that in the sight of his Father makes us white as snow. The Scriptures, indeed, strike most upon the other string, and more directly; as, "Christ loved the Church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word."^b "He saved us by the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost:" and in many other places. Therefore, our liturgy falls most upon the purifying operation of the Spirit, to be shadowed in the outward washing of water. As when it prays, "Send thy Holy Spirit to these infants, and grant that they may be baptized with water and with the Holy Ghost:" and, "grant that all that are baptized may receive the fullness of thy grace." Spiritual regeneration is that which the Gospel hath set forth to be the principal correlative of baptism. Oh, happy it is for us to be born again by water and the Holy Ghost! For better it were never to be born than not to be born twice.

God put a good mind into us, and reform one great fault in us, which is, that our baptism being passed over a great while ago, we cast it out of our memory, and meditate but little upon the benefits and comforts of it. We are got into the Church, and do in a sort forget how we got in. Whereas the whole life of a Christian man and woman should be a continual reflection how in baptism we entered into covenant with Christ; "to

^a Rev. i. 5.^b Ephes. v. 25.^c 1 Tit. iii. 6.

believe in him, to serve him, to forsake the devil, the vanities of the world, and all sinful desires of the flesh." Water is a pellucid element to look through it to the bottom: so often look through the sanctified water, to see what Christ hath done for you, and what you have engaged to do for Christ. And there is no heart so full of blackness and melancholy, but will recover upon it, and be as fresh in sound health, as if it were filled with marrow and fatness. Well did St. Paul put baptism among the principals and foundations of Christian doctrine^a; for all the weight of faith, sanctification, and mercy doth lie upon it. Recount this by particulars.

1. The first thought that my soul hath upon it is, that I am no longer "a stranger and foreigner, but a fellow-citizen with the saints, and of the household of God."^b I am no more "afar off," but "made nigh by the blood of Christ," partaker of the privileges of the Church, and called by "the new name, which the mouth of the Lord shall name^c," — a Christian.

2. Secondly; I find that I have gained to have the highest point of faith unfolded to me, which was but darkly discerned in the Old Testament, to confess the Holy Trinity, in which faith I was baptized. For because that mystery was revealed at Christ's baptism, it goes ever along with this sacrament: all nations being baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

3. Thirdly; I observe that my Christian engagement allows me not the liberty of sinning after the custom of

^a Heb. vi. 2.

^b Ephes. ii. 19.

^c Isa. lxii. 2.

the world; but obligeth me to the strict discipline of my Lord, to live holily, justly, and soberly, to walk in newness of life; as planted into the likeness of Christ's death, so to die unto sin: for "he that is dead is freed from sin."^a In every thing, and at all times, I must remember what the sureties at the font, called god-fathers and godmothers, did promise for me in my name; which the liturgy of Geneva retains in these words: — "Do you promise to warn this child to live according to God's word, and make the law of God the square of his life to live by?" It is a binding ceremony, and we are brought up from our tender years in the knowledge of it, that we continually may feel the work of the ordinance, to have "our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with clean water."^b And "as many as are baptized into Christ, have put on Christ."^c To put on Christ is to follow Christ in the law of a new creature, and to perfect holiness, without which no man shall see God.

4. Fourthly; I have assurance that the Spirit is not disjoined from the water; for God's word cannot fail, that we shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost. "But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God."^d The power given to keep the covenant, makes it a covenant of grace: else we shall administer but the letter, and not the spirit. The outward act of man, unless we make ourselves unworthy, is certainly assisted with the increase of God. If the good effect

^a Rom. vi. 7.

^c Gal. iii. 27.

^b Heb. x. 21, 22.

^d 1 Cor. vi. 11.

ensue not, the sacrament doth not want its virtue, but the receiver marred it. Very much is to be ascribed to the word preached; it is a powerful means to convert us, and to save us. "Take heed unto thy doctrine, for in doing this thou shalt save thyself, and them that hear thee."^a And, "Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth in you."^b The word disposeth and prepares; God is the efficient cause of our regeneration. Now this sacrament, whether we speak of infants, they are to call to mind how they received the outward seal of grace; or whether we speak of converts of ripe years, who, at the same time, were taught the virtue of it, it hath reason to work more powerfully and effectually upon their knowledge and affections, than doctrine alone: because Christ and his benefits are manifested in a sensible operation, which himself did dignify in his own person, at the waters of Jordan, and afterward institute it to be used by his disciples.

5. The fifth thing that I draw from hence gives me exceeding consolation in Christ, that no man who is made the child of God is in the damnable state of sin; therefore, in baptism, being made the adopted child of God, I have obtained the pardon of all sins, original and actual; as Naaman was cured of all his leprosy. "Who saved us by the washing of regeneration."^c "Be baptized every one of you, in the name of the Lord Jesus, for the remission of sins."^d So Ananias said to

^a 1 Tim. iv. 15.

^c Tit. iii. 6.

^b 1 Pet. i. 23.

^d Acts, ii. 38.

Paul, "Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins."^a Yea, but some will cavil, "Infants have not faith; and God hath set forth Christ to be a propitiation through faith in his blood: and he that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved."^b I will not contend about it, whether baptized infants have a secret imperceptible habit of faith: I am sure there is innocency of life in them instead of faith. They that are of age to come to the knowledge of faith, must bring their own faith with them to the font: but for infants, they have privilege to be in church communion, by the faith of the Church wherein they were born. There is another contest made by some, that, "Notwithstanding baptism, original sin remains in us all the days of our life." True: the sin is not blotted out in the infant, but it is blotted out of the book of God. And as actual sins are pardoned for Christ's sake, yet it cannot be brought about that they should never be done which are done and past, but it is enough that they shall not be imputed: so original sin cleaves unto us; it is not cast out, for I feel it in me; but it is remitted.

6. For the complement of this subject, the largest and the longest comfort flowing from the grace of baptism is, that we are to rely upon the covenant made between God and us therein, for the remission of all our sins which we commit after baptism to the end of our life. Far be it from me to say, that it sufficeth us to cast our eyes back to the covenant then made, as if the bare and historical memory of it did suffice to blot

^a Acts, xxii. 16.

^b Mark, xvi. 16.

out sins; that is but an empty flash and a vapour of presumption. But this I say: build upon the eternity and infallibility of God's truth; and then, by a true and sure grasping faith, joined with repentance, renew yourself in God's mercies by the promise of the old baptismal covenant. Repentance is a condition never to be omitted to lift us up again, when we have been overtaken with sins. But faith doth not comfort itself in the sincerity of repentance, which in us is ever imperfect, but in Christ's merits once for all consigned to us in baptism. For the Scriptures speak indefinitely, that the laver of regeneration purgeth away all our sins; it doth not speak restrictively of sins past, as if it did operate no longer than in that moment when the water is sprinkled; for "baptism doth now," at the very present time, "save us."^a And some collect it out of that figurative place^b, "Every thing where the waters do come shall live." After a shower of rain hath fallen, and ceaseth, the grass continues to grow. By grievous and presumptuous sins we debar ourselves from the sense and comfort of the covenant for the present; yet when we repent, we come not to make a new covenant with God, but to beseech him to be gracious to us for the old covenant's sake; as an adulteress, if she be received again, and pardoned by her husband, is not new married, but accepted for a wife upon the first contract of marriage.

Take some examples of those in the New Testament, that sinned against God, and in their return again did

^a 1 Pet. iii. 21.

^b Ezek. xlvii. 9.

not suppose the first covenant of baptism to be abolished, but they comforted themselves that the mercies promised them would hold firm, and not fail them. St. Paul challengeth the Corinthians^a, that they had been adulterers, effeminate, and much of the like. Yet he speaks thus to them: "Ye are washed, sanctified, justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus."^b In the same manner he deals with the Galatians, who had embraced much false doctrine, mingled Judaism with the Gospel: yet, "as many of you as are baptized into Christ have put on Christ."^c Can any thing equal all these heart-refreshings that swim in the pool of baptism? Therefore, in many ages past, the joy of the neophytes was excessive that came to be baptized. Many torches were lighted, and carried before them, to show it was the day of their illumination. They came in white garments, and wore them constantly eight days together — a most festival habit. Yet they affected too much to defer their baptism till their elder, nay, their later years, out of the erroneous principle that baptism was the healing water for the remission of sins past; and they rather relied upon repentance than upon the baptism which they had received, for the remission of sins that did follow. Whereas repentance is not a new paction with God, but a return to the use of the old; a restitution, as it were, of our blood, when we had been tainted by committing treason against God; that is, repossession of mercy endangered to be forfeited. But were it a

^a 1 Cor. vi.^b 1 Cor. vi. 11.^c Gal. iii. 27.

new covenant, we should have some new visible sign for it, which never was. Therefore, this is the very soul of mine and every one's baptismal consolation, — that, being once done, it seals pardon for all our sins, through Christ's blood, unto our life's end.

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